

A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
GAUDIAN LANGUAGES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
EASTERN HINDI

ACCOMPANIED BY

A LANGUAGE-MAP AND A TABLE OF ALPHABETS

BY
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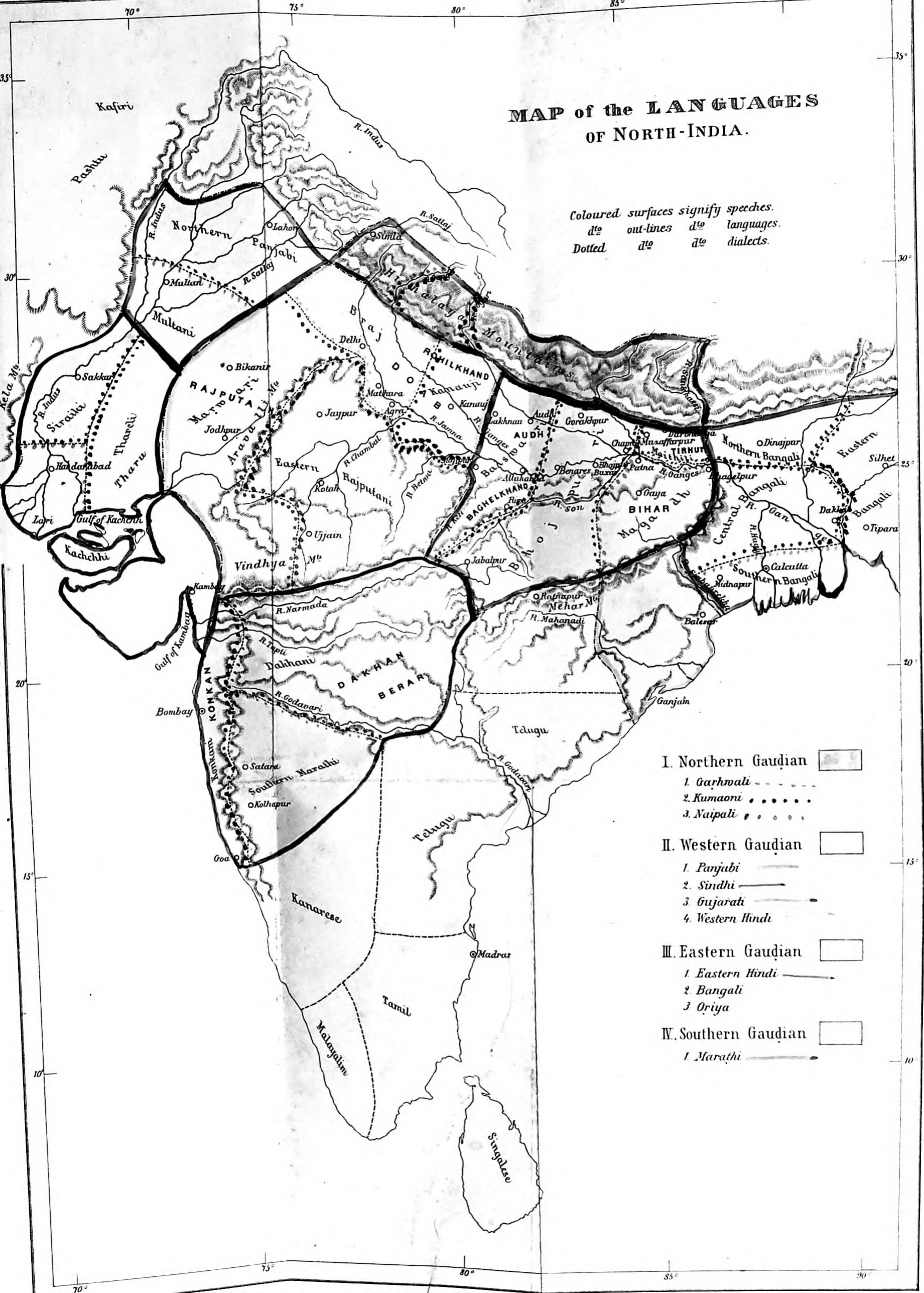


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MAP of the LANGUAGES OF NORTH-INDIA.

Coloured surfaces signify speeches.
 d^o out-lines d^o languages.
 Dotted d^o d^o dialects.



- I. Northern Gaudian
 - 1. Garhwali
 - 2. Kumaoni
 - 3. Naipali
- II. Western Gaudian
 - 1. Panjabi
 - 2. Sindhi
 - 3. Gujarati
 - 4. Western Hindi
- III. Eastern Gaudian
 - 1. Eastern Hindi
 - 2. Bangali
 - 3. Oriya
- IV. Southern Gaudian
 - 1. Marathi

TO
KARL STEFFENSEN
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN BASEL
IN
GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF THE
YEARS OF STUDY PASSED UNDER HIS GUIDANCE

This Volume
IS
DEDICATED.

CALCUTTA, Spring 1880.

P R E F A C E.

In order to account for the perhaps somewhat unusual arrangement of this book, I must explain, that my original plan was merely to write a Grammar of the Eastern Hindí accompanied by short notes, pointing out its Gaudian affinities. Gradually these notes grew to such an extent as to change almost entirely the character of the book, which in its present state is rather a comparative grammar of the Gaudian languages than a simple grammar of the Eastern Hindí. The two subjects have been kept apart as much as possible, so as to enable the reader to use the book ad libitum for the study of either, the Eastern Hindí only, or the Gaudian generally. For this purpose the comparative matter has been mainly distributed in the paragraphs headed „Affinities“ and „Derivation“; the others refer to Eastern Hindí. To further increase the usefulness of the book an index of such Gaudian words as are explained in the Grammar is in course of preparation and will shortly be published.

The amount of information contained within this volume, is very much more than may appear at first sight. An idea of its extent may be gained by a glance over the index of subjects. Putting aside the information about the Eastern Hindí, most of which is original, the book not only goes over nearly the entire

ground, covered by the volumes of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar, but also adds a not inconsiderable quantity of additional matter, especially in regard to the derivation of Gaudian grammatical forms from the Prákṛits. It was not easy to compress all this mass of information within one comparatively small volume to which, for various reasons, it was necessary to confine the work. This necessity will account for the perhaps excessive conciseness of diction and the extensive use of abbreviations; an inconvenience for which, I feel, I must crave the indulgence of the reader, but which, by the help of the prefixed list of abbreviations, I hope will prove no serious difficulty.

As regards the sources of my materials for the grammar of Eastern Hindí, in the absence of all literature (except in the Baiswáṛí), I had to rely almost entirely on the information, partly obtained through long personal intercourse with the people, but especially supplied by native scholars or (in a few cases) by Europeans intimately acquainted with the country people. Among the former it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the very efficient help rendered me by the kindness of Paṇḍit Gopál Bhaṭṭa, Professor of Sanskrit at the Jay Narain's College in Benares, who to a scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit adds an intimate acquaintance of the Vernaculars as spoken by the people, representatives of whom, from every part of India, may be met with in Benares.

As regards the comparative portion of the book, every work that I could think of as bearing on the subject has been consulted. Most of these will be found mentioned in the list of abbreviations. A few works, such as E. Müller on the Jaina Prákṛit, Jacobi's edition of the Kalpasútra, A. Grierson's Maithilí Grammar, unfortunately came into my hands too late to be turned to account. Most of the Prákṛit Grammarians (such as Már-

kaṇḍeya, Śubhachandra, Kramadīśvara, Trivikrama, Siṃharāja etc.) are quoted from MSS. in my possession; but Vararuchi and Hemachandra are generally cited from the excellent editions of Cowell and Pischel respectively.

The publication of this volume, begun in Germany in 1878, has been so long delayed through my absence from Europe, which necessitated the sending out of the proofsheets to India. I fear this had the further evil consequence of many misprints remaining undetected, for which I hope the kind reader will make allowance. I do not think any serious misprint has escaped correction.

R. H.

CONTENTS.

	page		page
INTRODUCTION	I	2. <i>In Derivation</i>	36
On the Distribution and Af-		a) Changes of Final	
finities of Gaudian	I	Sounds	36
Eastern Hindí Literature	XXXVI	b) Changes of Medial	
The Terms <i>tatsama</i> , <i>tadbhava</i> ,		Sounds	42
etc.	XXXVIII	α) Single Vowels	42
FIRST SECTION. On Letters		β) Vowels in contact	47
and Sounds	1	γ) Single Consonants	57
I. CHAPTER. The Alphabet	1	aa) Softening	60
1. <i>Vowels</i>	3	bb) Reduction	65
Neutral and short	4	cc) Vocalisation	67
Nasalization	6	dd) Elision	69
2. <i>Consonants</i>	6	ee) Hardening	72
Pronunciation of pa-		ff) Miscellaneous	72
latals	7	δ) Conjunct Conso-	
Pronunciation of ce-		nants	75
rebrals	8	aa) Dissolution	77
Nasals	10	bb) Simplification	79
Semivowels	16	cc) Elision	85
Sibilants	24	dd) Miscellaneous	87
Foreign Sounds	25	c) Changes of Initial	
3. <i>The Visarga and Anus-</i>		Sounds	90
vára	26	α) Vowels	90
Visarga	26	β) Single Consonants	91
Anusvára	27	γ) Conj. Consonants	93
II. CHAPTER. Euphonic Per-		SECOND SECTION. On Suf-	
mutation	31	fixes and Roots	95
1. <i>In Pronunciation and</i>		I. CHAPTER. Suffixes	95
<i>Inflexion</i>	31	1. <i>Pleonastic Suffixes</i>	96
Vowels	31	2. <i>Second. Derivative Suff.</i>	111
Single Consonants	34	Improper Suffixes	127
Conjunct Consonants	35	3. <i>Prim. Derivative Suff.</i>	136

	page		page
II. CHAPTER. Roots . . .	159	Derivation of Gen. Aff.	230
Affinities	160	Derivation of Loc. Aff.	241
1. <i>Primary Roots</i>	161	5. <i>Paradigms of Declension</i>	242
Phonetic Permutation	161	II. CHAPTER. The Adjective	247
Incorporation of Class-		1. <i>Forms of the Adjective</i>	247
suffix	162	2. <i>Gender</i>	248
Incorporation of Pas-		3. <i>Declension</i>	249
sive-suffix	164	4. <i>Comparison</i>	250
Change of Class . . .	164	III. CHAPTER. The Numeral	250
Change of Voice . .	168	1. <i>Cardinals</i>	251
Addition of Pleonastic		Affinities	253
Suffix	170	Derivation	255
2. <i>Secondary Roots</i> . . .	171	Declension	262
Derivative Roots . .	171	2. <i>Ordinals</i>	263
Denominative Roots .	172	3. <i>Multiplicatives</i>	264
Compound Roots . .	173	4. <i>Collectives</i>	265
Undetermined Roots .	177	5. <i>Reduplicatives</i>	267
THIRD SECTION. Inflexion		6. <i>Fractionals</i>	268
of Nouns	179	7. <i>Proportionals</i>	270
I. CHAPTER. The Substan-		8. <i>Subtractives</i>	271
tive	179	9. <i>Distributives</i>	271
1. <i>Forms of the Substant.</i>	179	10. <i>Definitives</i>	272
2. <i>Gender</i>	181	11. <i>Indefinitives</i>	272
3. <i>Number</i>	185	IV. CHAPTER. The Pronoun	273
Affinities	186	1. <i>Personal Pronouns</i> . .	273
Derivat. of Plur.-Signs	189	Affinities and Derivat.	273
Derivat. of Obl. Termin.	192	First Person. Pron.	274. 275
Orig. of the Obl. Form	202	Sec. Person. Pron.	276. 280
Distribut. of the Prák.		A few Peculiar Forms	281
Gen. Suffixes	204	Declension	282
Orig. of the Gen. and		2. <i>Correlative Pronouns</i> .	284
Obl. Suffixes	209	Affinities	285
Derivat. of the Direct		Near Demonstrative .	285
Termination	212	Far Demonstrative .	286
4. <i>Case</i>	216	General Demonstrat.	286
Active Case	217	Relative	287
Genitive Case	220	Interrogative	288
Affinities	221	Indefinite	289
Derivat. of Dative Aff.	224	Derivation	289
Derivation of Abl. and		Declension	299
Instr. Affixes	227	3. <i>Reflexive Pronoun</i> . .	302

	page		page
4. <i>Honorific Pronoun</i> . . .	303	Preterite Conjunctive	353
5. <i>Pronominal Adjectives</i> .	303	Future Indicative . . .	355
a) Possessive Pronouns	303	3. <i>Periphrastic Tenses</i> . .	359
b) Correlative Pron. .	305	Auxiliary Verbs . . .	361
Quantity	305	III. CHAPTER. Conjugation .	367
Quality	307	1. <i>Defective Auxiliary</i> . .	367
c) Indefinite Pronouns	309	2. <i>Weak Complete Auxil</i> .	368
6. <i>Pronominal Adverbs</i> .	310	3. <i>Strong Complete Auxil.</i>	369
FOURTH SECTION. Infle-		4. <i>Defective Negative Aux.</i>	370
xion of Verbs	316	5. <i>Regular Active</i>	371
I. CHAPTER. Forms of the		6. <i>Typical Regular Active</i>	375
Verb	316	7. <i>Irregular Active</i>	378
1. <i>Kinds, Trans. and Intr.</i>	316	8. <i>Regul. Compound Pass.</i>	381
2. <i>Degrees</i>	317	9. <i>Irregul. Compound Pass.</i>	381
Simple Causal	317	10. <i>Potential Passive</i>	382
Double Causal	321	11. <i>Irregular Potent. Pass.</i>	383
3. <i>Voices</i>	322	12. <i>Simple Causal</i>	383
Compound Passive . .	322	13. <i>Double Causal</i>	384
Potential Passive . .	324	14. <i>Passive of Causal</i> . . .	385
4. <i>Moods</i>	326	15. <i>Irregular Causal</i> . . .	385
Infinitive	326	IV. CHAPTER. Compound	
Adjective Participles .	326	Verbs	385
Prayoga	326	FIFTH SECTION. Indecli-	
Adverbial Participle .	328	nables	389
Conjunctive Participle	328	1. <i>Adverbs</i>	389
Nouns of Agency . .	330	Particles of Affirm. .	392
II. CHAPTER. Tenses . . .	331	Particles of Emphasis	393
1. <i>Radical Tenses</i>	331	2. <i>Postpositions, Affixes</i> .	394
Pres. Conj. and Imper.	331	3. <i>Conjunctions</i>	395
Precative	339	4. <i>Interjections</i>	398
Present Indicative . .	341	SIXTH SECTION. Specimens	
2. <i>Participial Tenses</i> . .	345	of E. Hindí	398
First Preterite Indic.	345	1. <i>Vocables and Phrases</i> .	398
Plusperfect	350	2. <i>Dialogues</i>	400
Second Preterite Indic.	350	3. <i>Folklore</i>	404

Map of the Languages of North India; opp. Title page.

Table of Alphabets; opp. page. 2.

Note: See also „Affinities“ and „Derivation“ in the Index of Subjects, p. 407.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Gr. = Translation of the Âdi Granth by Trumpp.

A. Mg. = Ardha Mágadhí Prákrit.

Ap. or *Ap. Pr.* = Apabhramṣa Prákrit.

Ap. Mg. = Apabhramṣa Mágadhí Prákrit.

Ap. Sr. = Apabhramṣa Śaurasení Prákrit.

B. = Bengálí.

B. H. Dy. = Bate's Hindí Dictionary.

Bh. = Bhojpurí.

Bhag. or *Bh.* = Bhagavatí.

Br. = Braj.

Bs. = Beames' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages.

Bs. or *Bw.* = Baiswáří.

Cw. = Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's Prákṛita Prakāṣa.

Dk. = Dakṣhiṇátya Prákrit.

Dl. = Delius' Radices Pracriticae.

E., in conjunction with other initials, = Eastern; e. g. *E. H.* = Eastern Hindí, *E. Gd.* = E. Gaudian, *E. Rj.* = Eastern Rájputání.

Eth. = Etherington's Hindí Grammar.

G. = Gujarátí.

Gd. = Gaudian.

Gh. or *Gw.* = Garhwálí.

Gl. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

H. = Hindí; or, in conjunction with other initials, = High; as *H. H.* = High Hindí, *H. B.* = High Bengálí.

H. C. = Hema Chandra's Prákrit Grammar (ed. Pischel).

J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J. G. O. S. = Journal of the German Oriental Society.

K. I. = Kramadīṣvara's Prákrit Grammar.

Kf. = Kafirí.

Kl. = Kellogg's Hindí Grammar.

Km. = Kumaoní.

Kn. = Kanaují.

Ksh. = Kashmírí.

Kth. = Kaithí.

Ld. = Panjábí Grammar printed in Loodiana.

L. Dh. = Lakshmí Dhara's Shadbháshá chandriká.

Ls. = Lassen's Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae.

M. = Maráṭhí; or, in conjunction

with other initials, = Modern; as
M. Gd. = Modern Gaudian, *M.*
M. = Modern Maráthí.

M. M. = Max Müller's Sanskrit
 Grammar.

M. W. = Moniers William's Sans-
 krit-English Dictionary.

Man. = Student's Manual of Ma-
 ráthí Grammar.

Mcch. = *Mṛchchhakatiká* (ed. Stenz-
 ler).

Md. = Márkaṇḍeya's Prákṛit Gram-
 mar.

Mg. = Mágadhí Prákṛit.

Mh. = Máháráshṭrī Prákṛit.

Mh. Sr. = Máháráshṭrī-Śaurasenī
 Prákṛit.

Mr. or Mw. = Márwārī.

Ms. = Mason's Páli Grammar.

Mth. = Maithilí.

N. = Naipálí.

N. Gd. = Northern Gaudian.

O. = Oríyá; or, in conjunction with
 other initials, = Old; as *O. H.* =
 Old Hindí, *O. W. H.* = Old We-
 stern Hindí, *O. P.* = Old Panjábí;
O. S. = Old Sindhí, *O. Gd.* =
 Old Gaudian.

P. = Panjábí.

Pl. = Pischel's *Dissertatio Inaugu-
 ralis*.

Pr. = Prákṛit.

Pr. or Pers. = Persian.

Pr. R. = Prithiráj Rasau by Chand
 Bardái.

Ps. = Paisáchí Prákṛit.

Psh. = Pashtú.

Rj. = Rájputání.

R. T. = Ráma Tarkavajísás Prákṛit
 Grammar.

S. = Sindhí.

S. C. = Śubha Chandra's Prákṛit
 Grammar.

S. Ch. = Shama Charan's Bangálí
 Grammar.

S. D. = Sahitya Darpana.

S. Gd. = Southern Gaudian.

S. Gdt. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

S. L. = St. Luke translated into
 Naipálí.

S. R. = Simha Rájá's Prákṛit Gram-
 mar.

Skr. = Samskrit.

Sn. = Sutton's Oríyá Grammar.

Spt. = Sapta Śataka (ed. Weber).

Sr. = Saurasenī Prákṛit.

St. G. = Stanislas Guyard's Gram-
 maire Palie.

T. D. or T. Das. = Tulsí Dás' Ra-
 máyan.

T. V. = Trivikrama's Prákṛit Gramm.

Tr. = Trumpp's Sindhí Grammar.

Ved. = Vedic.

Vr. = Vararuchi's Prákṛit Gram-
 mar (ed. Cowell).

W., in conjunction with other ini-
 tials, = Western; as *W. Gd.* =
 Western Gaudian, *W. H.* = We-
 stern Hindí, *W. Rj.* = Western
 Rájputání.

Wb. = Weber's edition of the Sapta
 Śataka (*Spt.*) and of the Bhaga-
 vatí (*Bh.*).

GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

abl. = ablative.
 acc. = accusative.
 act. = active (case or voice or verb).
 adj. = adjective.
 adv. = adverb or adverbial.
 aff. = affix.
 auxil. = auxiliary.

c. g. or com. gen. = common gender.
 C. R. = Causal Roots.
 C. V. = Causal Verb.
 cl. = class.
 comp. = compound.
 Cp. R. = Compound Roots.
 cond. = conditional.
 conj. = conjunct or conjunction or conjunctive mood.
 conj. cons. = conjunct consonant.
 cons. = consonant.
 constr. = construction.
 contr. = contracted or contraction.

D. R. or Dm. R. = Denominative Roots.
 dat. = dative.
 Db. C. V. = Double Causal Verb.
 dem. = demonstrative pronoun.
 der. or deriv. = derivative.
 dir. = direct.
 Dr. R. = Derivative Roots.
 du. = dual.

emph. = emphatic.
 euph. = euphonic.
 exc. = except or exception.

f. or fem. = feminine.
 fut. = future.

gen. = genitive or general.

imp. or imper. = imperative mood.
 ind. or indic. = indicative mood.
 indef. = indefinite or indefinitive.
 inf. = infinitive.

instr. = instrumentalis.
 inter. or interrog. = interrogative pronoun.

intr. = intransitive.
 intr. V. = intransitive Verb.

lg. f. = long form.
 loc. = locative.

m. or masc. = masculine.

N. = noun.
 n. or neut. = neuter.
 nom. = nominative.
 num. = numeral.

obl. = oblique.
 orig. = original.

P. P. = past participle.
 P. R. = Primitive Roots.
 part. = participle.
 pass. = passive.
 pers. = person or personal.
 pl. or plur. = plural.
 pleon. = pleonastic.
 postpos. = postposition.
 prec. = precativ.
 pret. = preterite.
 pron. = pronoun or pronominal.

qual. = quality.
 qual. pron. = qualitative pronoun.
 quant. = quantity.
 quant. pron. = quantitative pronoun.

R. = root.
 red. f. = redundant form.
 refl. = reflexive pronoun.
 rel. = relative pronoun.
 resp. = respectively.

S. = suffix.
 S. R. = Simple Roots.
 S. V. = Simple Verb.
 sg. or sing. = singular.

sh. f. = short form.
 st. f. = strong form.
 subst. = Substantive.
 suff. = suffix.

tbh. or tadbh. = tadbhava.
 term. or termin. = termination.
 tr. = transitive.
 Tr. V. = Transitive Verb.
 ts. = tats. or tatsama.

voc. = vocative.

wk. f. = weak form.

An asterisk (*) prefixed to a word means a conjectural or theoretical form of a word.

INTRODUCTION.

THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION AND MUTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE GAUDIAN¹⁾ LANGUAGES.

Seven languages of the Sanskrit stock are usually enumerated as spoken in North India, viz. Sindhí, Gujarátí, Panjábí, Hindí, Bangálí, Oríya, Maráthí. Of these H. is commonly said to be spoken over an area of more than 248000 square miles and to be the language of between 60 and 70 millions or fully $\frac{1}{4}$ of the inhabitants of India. This statement is true only in a very limited and special sense. It is true if by H. we understand the literary or High-Hindí (including under this term Hindústání or Urdú); but it is quite incorrect if it be understood to imply that only one language is spoken generally by the people inhabiting that area. It is, a priori, extremely improbable and contrary to general experience that one and the same language should be spoken by such large numbers of people over a tract of country so widely extended. As a matter of fact, two entirely different languages are spoken in the so-called Hindí area; one in the western, the other in the eastern half. For the sake of convenience, these two languages will be called in this treatise Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí; but the terms are not altogether good ones, as they give too much of an impression that Western and Eastern Hindí are merely two different dialects of

1) I have adopted the term Gaudian to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, for want of a better word; not as being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one.

the same (Hindí) language. In reality, they are as distinct from one another, as B. in the east and P. in the west are supposed to be distinct from what is commonly called Hindí. Indeed the likeness between E. H. and B. is much closer than between E. H. and W. H.; and on the other hand, the affinity between W. H. and P. is much greater than between W. H. and E. H. In short W. H. and E. H. have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than different dialects, as P., H., and B.

It is impossible at present, accurately to define the limits of the various Gaudian languages and dialects. It is a subject to which little attention has been paid hitherto. Moreover, it seems probable, that in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly, that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute. At present, we can only fix with certainty the centres of their respective areas. The following remarks and the accompanying map which attempts to show their local distribution, must be understood with this proviso. The area in which H. (commonly so called, i. e. E. H. and W. H.) is spoken, occupies the central portion of North India. It extends in the north to the lower ranges of the Himálaya mountains; in the west to a line drawn from the head of the gulf of Kachchh in a north-easterly direction to the upper Satlaj near Simla; in the south to the Narmadá river or the Vindhya range of mountains; in the east to a line following the course of the Sankhassí river to its junction with the Ganges and thence in a south-westerly direction to the Narmadá. The H. area is bounded on the north by those of Gw., K~~u~~, and N.; on the west by P., S., and G.; on the south by the M. area, and on the east by O. and B.

The Garhwálí, Kumaoní and Naipálí are apparently dialects of one great language, the area of which is bounded on the south by that of Hindí, on the east by the upper Satlaj, on the west by the upper Sankhassí, and on the north by the higher ranges of the Himálaya. The Garhwálí is spoken between the Satlaj and

Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogarí, the Naipalí between the Gogarí and Sankhassí. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gaudian*.

1. The area of the Panjábí nearly covers the province from which it derives its name, extending from the Hindí area in the east to the Indus in the west, and from the lower ranges of the Himálaya in the north to the junction of the five rivers in the south. There are apparently two principal dialects of this language; viz. the Multání spoken in the Southern Panjáb about Multán, and the dialect of the Northern Panjáb. P. is spoken by about 12 millions of people distributed over 60000 square miles.

2. The Sindhí area lies on both sides of the lower Indus. It meets the Hindí area on the east, and that of the Panjábí on the north, and is bounded by the Kela mountains on the west. The language comprises three principal dialects; the Siráikí spoken in the upper Sindh, north of Haiderábád; the Lárí or dialect of the lower Sindh spoken in the Indus delta and on the sea-coasts; and the Tharelí spoken in the Tharu or desert of Eastern Sindh (see Tr. II). It is spoken by about 2 millions of people and over 90000 square miles.

3. The Gujarátí area comprises the provinces of Kacch and Gujarát or the country around the gulf of Kambay. The Kacchí is a distinct dialect, and its true affiliation, whether to Sindhí or Gujarátí appears to be still doubtful. Gujarátí has seemingly no marked dialectic divisions. It is spoken over 50000 square miles by about 6 millions of people.

4. The Maráthí area is bounded by the Vindhya mountains on the north, where it joins that of Western Hindí. At their eastern extremity it meets the Eastern Hindí area, whence the line of demarcation runs in a south-westerly direction to the sea-coast near the city of Goa. There are two principal dialects: the Konkani and Dakhaní. The former is spoken in the west, in the Konkan or narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea;

the latter in the north-east in the (so-called) Dakhan or Central India. In the south-east, about Satara and Kolhapur, there is apparently a third variety (Bs. I, 104). Maráthí is spoken by about 13 millions of people and over 113000 square miles. It should be observed, that in the neighbourhood of the upper Narmadá Maráthí is contiguous to Eastern Hindí. One gradually merges into the other, and it is impossible, at present, to say exactly where one begins and the other ends. It is certain, however, that E. H. is spoken about Jabalpur. On its south and south-east, respectively, Maráthí has the Drávidian languages, the Kanarese and Telugu.

The Oríya area is bounded on the north by the Subanarekhá river and in the west by a line drawn from the sources of that river in a southerly direction to about Ganjam on the east-coast of India. According to Beames (I, 118, 106) it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects, spoken in the vast tract of mountains, lying between its western boundary-line and the eastern limits of the Maráthí area. It is spoken by about 5 millions of people over 66000 square miles.

The Bangálí area is nearly coterminous with the province of Bangál, being bounded by the Eastern Hindí area on the West. Four principal varieties of the language are said to exist (Bs. I, 106); one in Eastern Bangál about Silhet and Tipara, another in Northern Bangál about Dinajpur; one in Southern Bangál about Midnapur and Calcutta, and the principal one in Central Bangál. It is spoken by about 36 millions of people over 90000 square miles.

Within the area of Hindí, as previously defined, many differing dialects are spoken. Their exact number is, at present, uncertain. Eight principal dialectic varieties, however, may be distinguished. Namely, beginning in the West; *first*, the dialects of Western Rájputáná as far as the Aravalli mountains. The principal one is the Márwáří or the dialect of the country of the Márs, a Rájput tribe, spoken about Jodhpur and Jaynagar. *Secondly*, the dialects of Eastern Rájputáná, spoken about Jaypúr and Kotah, on

the high lands between the Aravalli mountains and the river Betwá. *Thirdly*, the Braj Bháshá or the dialect of the upper Doáb, spoken on the plains of the Jamná and Ganges, about Agrá, Mathurá, Delhi, etc. It is so called from Vraj „cow-pen“, the name of the district round Brindában and Mathurá, the birth-place of Krishṇa. *Fourthly*, the Kanauj spoken in the lower Doáb and Rohilkhand. It takes its name from the old city of Kanauj on the Ganges. *Fifthly*, the Baiswári or dialect of the country of the Bais, a Rájput tribe; spoken to the north of Allahábád. Its district is nearly coterminous with the province of Audh, whence it is also called Avadhí. In a slightly modified form it is also spoken to the south of Allahábád, in Baghelkhand, the country of the Baghels, an other Rájput tribe. *Sixthly*, the dialects of the country lying north and south of Banáras, and spoken to beyond Gorakhpúr and Bettiah in the North and to about Jabalpúr in the South, where their area is contiguous with that of the Maráthí. The principal one is the Bhojpúrí, which is current in the central portion of this tract on both sides of the Ganges between Banáras and Chaprá. It takes its name from the ancient town of Bhojpúr, now a small village, near Buxar, and a few miles south of the Ganges¹). *Seventhly*, the Maithilí or the dialect of the district of Tirhút, spoken about Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. It is called

1) „It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kuṅwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining »Sair-ul Mutakherin« will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpurí language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (बभन) or Bhuinhárs (भूईंहार = landleute) who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told.“ Beames J. R. A. S. vol. III, p. 484 (new series).

so after the ancient city of Mithilá, the capital of Videha or modern Tirhút (Tírabhukti). *Eightly*, the Mágadh or the dialect spoken to the south of the Ganges between Gayá, Patná and Bhágalpúr. It has its name from the old district of Magadh, now better known as Bihár.

These dialects naturally divide themselves into two great groups, according to some very marked peculiarities of pronunciation and inflexion, etc., which will be noted presently. The first group comprises the western dialects; viz. those of W. and E. Rájputáná, of the Braj and of Kanauj. The second group includes the dialects of Banáras, Tirhút and Bihár. The central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhand is of uncertain affiliation. In some points it agrees with the western group (e. g., in having the W. H. past part. in *á* or *ia*, see § 302); but as in most others (e. g., the E. H. future in *ab*) it exhibits the same peculiarities as the eastern dialects, it appears more appropriate to class it, for the present, with the latter. The eastern group of dialects constitutes, what I have called, the Eastern Hindí language; the western group the Western Hindí. The latter language is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindí, namely the literary or High-Hindí. This latter is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdú by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjábí and Marwárí; afterwards Urdú was changed into High-Hindí. The H. H., as distinguished from the Urdú or Hindústání, is a very modern language; but Urdú itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the twelfth century¹⁾ in the country around Delhi, the centre of the Muhammedan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Marwárí and Panjábí; and there among the great camps (*urdú*) of the Muhammedan soldiery in their

1) The great battle of Pánípat near Delhi was fought A. D. 1192. It put an end to the Hindú and established the Muhammedan empire of Delhi. The last Hindú ruler (*Prithiráj*) fell in the battle.

intercourse with the surrounding populations a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is, in the main, Braj, though intermixed with Panjábí and Márwáří forms, while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindí, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the final long *á* of strong masculine nouns, where the Braj has *au* and the Márwáří *o*, is a bit of Panjábí; again the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Márwáří¹). Where the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdú. Thus Braj forms the future either in *ihauṁ* or in *aumgau* (1st pers. sg.); Urdú has retained only the latter in the form *úmgá*, on account (no doubt) of its similarity to the Panjábí *úmgá*. It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdú was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindí area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people. The High-Hindí dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindú revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough, Urdú, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement and was *Hinduised* or turned into High-Hindí by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdú and High-Hindí are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible.

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindí area; viz. the H. Hindí or Urdú, the W. Hindí, and the E. Hindí. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of

1) The affix of the active case was originally a dative affix, which is in Mr. *ne*, in P. *nūn*, in Br. *kaum*, see § 371.

the towns, and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdú among Muhammedans and of Hindí among Hindús; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned. On the other hand, both the W. H. and E. H. are vernaculars of the people generally. Their boundary line may be roughly set down at about the 80th degree of E. Longitude. In the area lying to the west of that line and containing about 150000 square miles W. H. is spoken by about 40 millions of people, in some one or other of its above mentioned dialectic forms. Among these the Braj Bháshá is the most important, as it is the best known variety. It is not only the source of the Urdú and, through it, of the modern literary Hindí, but it has itself received some measure of literary cultivation (see pg. XXXV). In this respect, indeed, the Braj occupies an unique position not only in the W. H., but amongst Hindí dialects generally. In the following pages, whenever W. H. simply is spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended.

The E. H. area, lying to the east of the 80th degree, contains about 100000 square miles and a population of about 20 millions. Among the various E. H. dialects spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district or the Bhojpúrí is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this work by the term Eastern Hindí, and the grammar of which forms more prominently my subject. It must be considered the typical dialect of the E. H.; for it exhibits all the peculiar features of that language in their fullest number and most marked form. This is much less the case with the other E. H. dialects. The more westerly, the Baiswárí, in some not unimportant points shows the distinctive marks of the W. H. (see pg. VI). On the other hand the easterly, the Maithilí especially, exhibit unmistakable similarities to the neighbouring Bangálí and Naipálí. Indeed, I am doubtful, whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. H. one. Thus in the

formation of the past tense, Maithilī agrees very closely with Bangalī, while it differs widely from the E. H., see § 503.

Taking, then, the Braj and the Bhojpūrī as the two typical dialects of the two great W. H. and E. H. groups respectively, and comparing them with each other, without entirely excluding from consideration the others; a number of very marked peculiarities present themselves. These, it will be seen, are so important, especially when considered in their relation to the non-Hindī (i. e., other Gaudian) languages, that it appears perfectly justifiable to consider the W. H. and E. H. as being as completely distinct languages as the other North-Indian languages are universally allowed to be. The following enumeration of differences is not an exhaustive one. I shall only mention the most important. There are many others which the reader will not fail to note for himself, as he goes through the grammar. I shall arrange them under the following heads: 1) pronunciation, 2) derivation, 3) inflexion, 4) construction, 5) vocables.

Firstly; as to pronunciation: 1) E. H. has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semivowels; thus E. H. often has *r* and *rh* for W. H. *r̥* or *r̥h*; it has also *r* and sometimes *n* for W. H. *l* (see §§ 16. 29. 30. 31). 2) While sometimes W. H. omits medial *h*, E. H. inserts an euphonic *h*¹⁾. 3) While E. H. never tolerates, W. H. sometimes adds euphonicallly an initial *y* or *v*²⁾. 4) E. H. has the short vowels *ě*, *āĩ*, *ō*, *āũ* which are unknown to W. H. (see §§ 5. 6). 5) E. H. generally prefers to retain the hiatus *ai* and *au*, while W. H. always contracts them to *ai* and *au*³⁾ (see § 68).

Secondly; as to derivation: 1) the strong form of masc. nouns of the *a*-base has in E. H. a final *á*, and of the short form of pronouns a final *e*, but in W. H. a final *au* or *o* (see §§ 47.

1) e. g., E. H., *dihal* he gave, but W. H. *diá* or *diyá*.

2) e. g., E. H., *e me* in this, *o me* in that, but W. H. *yá men*, *vá men*.

3) e. g., E. H., *baĩthai* he sits, W. H. *baithe*; E. H. *aür* and, W. H. *aur*.

48. 433. 437, 4)¹). 2) The singular possessive pronoun has in E. H. a medial *o*, but in W. H. *e* or *á* (see §§ 449. 450)²). 3) E. H. prefers the weak form in (quiescent) *a* of masculine nouns with an *a*-base, W. H. the strong form in *au* or *o*³) (see § 205). 4) E. H. prefers the long form (of subst.) in *avá* or *au*, W. H. that in *ayá* or *ai* (see § 202)⁴). (5.) While W. H. uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, E. H. has generally also a long form in *na* (see §§ 436. 437, 3)⁵).

Thirdly; as to inflexion; and here both as regards declension and conjugation. *As to declension*: 1) E. H. does not possess the active case of the W. H. formed with the affix *ne* (see §§ 370. 371)⁶). 2) The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in E. H. a final *á*, but in W. H. *e* (see §§ 363, 5. 365, 3. 6)⁷). *Next as to conjugation*: 1) the present tense is made in E. H. by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient (Sanskrit) present; in W. H. by adding *gá* or *hai* or *chhai* (see §§ 500. 501)⁸). 2) The past tense is formed in E. H. by means of the suffix *al* or *il*, in W. H. by the suffix *yau* or *yo* (see §§ 502. 505)⁹). 3) The future tense is made in E. H. by means of the suffix *ab* or *ib*, in W. H. by the suffixes *ih* or *as* (or, what need not concern us here, by adding the auxiliary participles *gau* or *go* to the ancient present) (see §§ 508. 509)¹⁰). 4) While E. H.

1) E. H. *bhalá* good, W. H. *bhalau* or *bhalo*; E. H. *je* which, W. H. *jau* or *jo*.

2) E. H. *morí* (fem.) mine, but W. H. *merí* or *máří*.

3) e. g., E. H. *baṛ* great, W. H. *baṛau*; E. H. *mor* mine, W. H. *merau*; E. H. *det* giving, W. H. (Mw.) *deto*, E. H. *paṛhal* read, W. H. *paṛhyau*.

4) e. g., E. H. *ram'vá* or *ramau* Rám, W. H. *ramayá* or *ramai*.

5) e. g., E. H. *se* or *tavan* he, W. H. only *so*.

6) e. g., E. H. *ú kailēs* he did, W. H. *vá ne kiyau*.

7) e. g., E. H. gen. *ghorá kai*, W. H. *ghore kau* of nom. *ghorá* horse.

8) e. g., E. H. *holá* he becomes, W. H. *haigá* or *hwaihai* or *hvaichhai*.

9) e. g., E. H. *rahal* he remained, W. H. *rahyau*.

10) e. g., E. H. *karaboṃ* I shall do, W. H. *karihaum* or *karasum* (or *karaumgau*).

possesses the infinitive in *ab* or *ib* in common with W. H., it does not share with it that in *an* (see § 261) ¹⁾.

Fourthly; as regards construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, E. H. possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas W. H. uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject; (see §§ 371. 487).

Fifthly; as regards the vocabulary, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different. Thus the (so-called) substantive verb is in E. H. 3. sing. present *bátai* he is, past *rahal* he was, in W. H. pres. *hai* (or *chhai*), past *tho* (or *ho* or *chho*); again the prohibitive particle is in E. H. *jin*, in W. H. *mat*; again the causative post-position is in E. H. *bade* or *bare* for the sake of, in W. H. *liye*.

These differences are sufficiently radical in themselves, to establish the claim of the E. H. to be considered a distinct language from W. H. But their importance will be seen still more clearly, if we now examine them in their relation to the eastern and western Gaudian languages; setting aside, for the present those of the north (Naipálí) and south (Maráṭhí). To the east of the combined E. H. and W. H. area are Bangálí and Oriya; to the west Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí. On comparing these languages with W. H. and E. H., it appears that B. and O. have in common with the latter all those peculiarities in which it differs from the former; and that P., G. and S. share with the former all (or nearly all) those peculiarities in which it differs from the latter. Thus all the languages of the former class (i. e. E. H., B., O.) show a preference for *n* over *l*; and of *ai* and *au* over *ai* and *au*; they do not tolerate an initial *y* or *v*; and possess the short *ě* and *õ*; their short pronouns have a final *e* and their possessive pronouns a medial *o*; most of their pronouns have an alternative long form in *na*, and their masculine nouns of the *a*-base, gene-

1) e. g., E. H. *karab* doing, W. H. *karabaum* or *karanaum*.

rally, the weak form in *ā*; they have no active case; their oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* ends in *á*; their past tense is made with *il* and their future tense and infinitive with *ib*; and lastly they construct actively the past tense of transitive verbs. Only in the present tense do B. and O. differ from E. H. in that they form no compound tense like it, but only use the simple ancient present tense; a form which they have in common not only with E. H., but (as will be shown further on, pg. XXXII) with all Gd. languages.

The case of W H. in respect to P., G. and S. is precisely similar. They all prefer *r*, *l*, to *r* and *n*; and *ai* and *au* to *ai* and *aiü*; in certain cases they make use of initial *y* and *v*, but have no short *ě* and *ō*; their strong masculine nouns and short pronouns end in *o*¹⁾; their pronouns have no long form in *na*²⁾, and, as a rule, their masculine nouns have the strong form in *o* or *au*; they have an active case made with *ne*³⁾, and an oblique form singular in *e*⁴⁾ of strong masculine nouns in *o* (or P. *á*); they make their past tense with the suffix *ya* or *ia*, and an infinitive with *an*; lastly they all construct passively the past tense of transitive verbs. Besides, G. and P., like W. H., form the present tense by adding the auxiliary verb *chhai* or *hai*, and the future by the suffixes *ih* or *as*; and their singular possessive pronouns have, as in W. H., a medial *e* or *á*. In these three points S. follows a way of its own, different, however, from both the others.

Although, therefore, the agreement is not quite perfect within each of the two groups⁵⁾, yet it is complete in the most

1) Exc., P. strong masc. nouns end in *á*; G. short pron. end in *e*, exc. *so* who.

2) Exc. relat. pron. *kon* in W. H., P., G., but not in S.

3) Exc., S. and Mw. use no affix with the active case.

4) Exc., G. and Mw. and partially Br. and Kn. in *á*.

5) The agreement is much more complete in the E. than in the W. group. This circumstance is significant, on account of its bearing on the probable history of their respective immigration into and occupation of North-India (see pg. XXXII).

important points. These are the six following, of which the five first are morphological and the sixth syntactical; viz. 1) the form of masculine nouns of an *a*-base, whether weak or strong; 2) the termination of such strong masculine nouns, whether in *á* or *o*; 3) their oblique form singular, whether ending in *á* or *e*; 4) the suffix of the past tense, whether *al* or *ya*; 5) the suffix of the future, whether *ab* or *ih* (or *as*); 6) the construction of the past tense, whether actively or passively. Even in regard to the minor points, the divergences are mostly confined to S., which is the most outlying of the Gaudian languages.

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by that agreement. In the first place; E. H. has evidently a much closer resemblance to B. and O., than to W. H.; and on the other hand, W. H. is much more nearly allied to P., G. and S., than to E. H. Whence it follows, that since B. and O. are accounted separate languages from E. H., and P., G. and S. from W. H., a fortiori E. H. and W. H. must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance, in which E. H. agrees with W. H. rather than with B. and O. are; 1) the oblique form singular in *e* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* (see § 386), which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and 2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia* (see 502.503), which they form a little differently¹⁾, but which, strictly, belongs not so much to E. H., as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswári.

The second conclusion is, that the languages whose affinities have been hitherto discussed, divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the eastern half of North-India and comprising E. H., B. and O.; the other covering its western half and including W. H., P., G. and S.

1) e. g., E. H. *parhyom* I read, B. *parhiyáchhi*, O. *parhiachhum*, but W. H. *parhyau*.

These two great forms of speech I designate in this treatise the *Eastern Gaudian* and the *Western Gaudian speeches* or groups of languages. The close resemblance of the various members of these two groups among themselves clearly points to a time, when those two forms of speech were nothing more than distinct languages, and what we now know as separate languages, were merely their different dialects.

We have now to consider, what relation the two remaining Gaudian languages, viz. Maráthí and Naipálí, bear to those two great forms of speech, the E. Gd. and the W. Gd. On examining their affinities with respect to the points discussed above, it will be found, that they each occupy a distinct position, yet so that Maráthí is rather more nearly allied to E. Gd.; and Naipálí to W. Gd. Their position as forms of speech distinct from both E. Gd. and W. Gd., is founded chiefly on these two facts: 1) that with respect to some of the points, in which E. and W. Gd. differ from one another, M. and N. sometimes agree with one, sometimes with the other; and 2) that in some other points they agree with neither, but follow a line of their own.

Thus as regards Maráthí, it agrees with E. Gd. in the following points: 1) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *á* of their oblique form singular¹⁾; 3) the formation of the past tense by the suffix *al* (see § 505); and 4) the formation of the future by the addition of the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient present (see § 509). This last point requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered (see pg. X and VII) that this compound form, which serves in M. as a future, is used in E. H. as a present, and that a similar compound form, made up of the auxiliary participle *ga* and the ancient present, is used in W. H. as a present tense, and in P. (and H. H.) as a future (see § 501). Now these circum-

1) e. g., gen. *ghodýá chá* of *ghodá* horse; *vichvá chá* of *vichú* scorpion; *pányá chá* of *pání* water.

stances show, that the compound form in *ga* is W. Gd., and the other in *la* E. Gd.

On the other hand, M. agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the pronunciation generally (see §§ 11. 16. 18); 2) the termination of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*; exc. the interrog. pron. *kon* who; 4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 205); 5) the long form in *ayá* of the same nouns (see § 202); 6) the active case formed with *ne* (see § 371); 7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (see § 320); and lastly 8) the passive construction of the past tense (see § 487). It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the E. Gd. and W. Gd., M. agrees with the former in four, and with the latter only in two. Having regard to this circumstance, M. must be considered to rank with the E. Gd. rather than with the W. Gd. group. Moreover, of the two points in which M. agrees with W. Gd., one is syntactical, while all four points which it has in common with E. Gd. are morphological. This shows still more clearly the E. Gd. character of M.; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics¹⁾.

Further, the points which are peculiar to M. are the following: 1) its pronunciation of the palatals, as *ts*, *dz*, etc. (see § 11), and its disaspiration of a medial aspirate (see § 145. exc. 2., e. g., *vichú* scorpion for *vichhú*); 2) its possession of a peculiar form of the singular possessive pronoun (see §§ 450. 430, 5)²⁾;

1) This is illustrated by an observation which Bs. I, 102 quotes from a native author (Shastri Vrajlal Kalidas in his History of the Gujarati Language pg. 50): „If a native from the North (speaking W. Hindí) comes into Gujarat, the Gujarati people find no difficulty in understanding his language; but when people from the South (speaking Maráthí) come to Gujarat, the Gujarati people do not in the least comprehend what they say.“ The reason simply is, that although syntactically G. does not differ either from M. or W. H., yet in its morphological characters it differs widely from M., while it agrees very closely with W. H.

2) e. g., M. *májhá* mine, but E. Gd. *mor*, W. Gd. *merau* or *máro*,

3) of a distinct oblique form singular of all nouns (see § 363)¹⁾; 4) of a peculiar present resembling closely in form that tense which, in common with all other Gd. languages, it uses as a preterite subjunctive (see § 501); and 5) of a peculiar conjunctive participle in *ún* (see § 491). For these reasons, as well as because, with respect to the points before referred to, M. is neither decidedly E. Gd. nor W. Gd., it must be considered to constitute a group by itself. This third group will be called in this treatise, the Southern Gaudian speech.

The case of Naipálí (including Garhwálí and Kumáoní) very much resembles that of Maráthí. It agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the final *o* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *o* of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the medial *e* of the singular possessive pronouns (see § 450); 4) the preference of the strong form in nouns of the *a-base*; 5) the possession of an active case made the affix *le* (= *ne* of the W. Gd., see § 371); 6) the formation of the present by adding the auxiliary verb *chha* to the ancient tense (see § 501); 7) of the past by the suffix *yo* or *iyo* (see §§ 305. 503); and 8) of the infinitive by the suffix *an* (see § 320).

On the other hand, N. agrees with E. Gd. in the following points; 1) the pronunciation generally²⁾; 2) the final *á* of the oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 363)³⁾; and 3) the formation of the future by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient present tense (as in the M. future and the E. H. present, see pg. X, XIV and § 509); and 4) the active construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (see § 487). Here again it will be observed that of the six important points before mentioned, N. agrees with the W. Gd. in *three*, and with the E. Gd. in *three*; but while of the former all three, of the

1) e. g., *ghará* of *ghar* house; *kaví* of *kavi* poet; *gurú* of *guru* teacher; *ghoḍyá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá* of *vichú* scorpion; *pányá* of *pání* water.

2) e. g., often *n* for *l*; short *ě* and *ŕ*.

3) e. g., gen. sg. *kurá ko* of *kuro* word.

latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gd. than to the E. Gd. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant¹⁾; 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant²⁾; 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gd., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gd. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gd., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gd., while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gd., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gd.

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are four great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gd., W. Gd., S. Gd., and E. Gd.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gd. and E. Gd. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gd. and S. Gd. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these four great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into two greater groups; one comprising the N. Gd. and W. Gd., the other the S. Gd. and E. Gd. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *áphu* self, for H. *áp*, Pr. *appá*; N. *ághi* before, for H. *áge*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bálakh* child, for H. *bdlak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *májhad* for H. *mājat*, Pr. *majjanto*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them; the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Saurasenī Prākṛit tongue* and the *Māgadhī Prākṛit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prākṛit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1st cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prākṛit; viz. the Prākṛit proper, the *Śaurasenī*, the *Māgadhī* and the *Paiśāchī*. The first of these is commonly called the *Mahārāshṭrī* (now *Marāṭhī*); the *Śaurasenī* (now *Braj*), and *Māgadhī* (now *Bihārī*) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively; the *Paiśāchī* is ascribed by some later Pr. grammarians¹⁾ to *Nepāl* among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prākṛit varieties are coordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prākṛits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prākṛits and the Gaudians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prākṛit. One includes the *Śaurasenī* and the (so-called) *Mahārāshṭrī*. These are said to be the prose and poëtic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the *Māgadhī*. The relation of *Paiśāchī* to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prākṛit. The latter

1) e. g., by Lakshmīdhara in his *Shadbhāshā Chandrikā*, see Ls. 13.

was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken* language; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prákrit (or Paisáchi) was the spoken language of the people; that is, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paisáchi. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himálaya, Nepál) and south (Pandya, Dakhan)¹). Again the most striking feature of the Paisáchi is its change of the Aryan *n*, *l* and the sonants into *ṇ*, *ḷ* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drávidian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drávidians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own vernacular, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paisáchi speech would naturally die out²); and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drávidian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the Apabhramsa Prákrit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

1) e. g., Lakshmídhara in the *Shadbháshá Chandriká* says: *piśācha-deśās tu vṛddhair uktāḥ, pāṇḍya kekaya váhlíka sahya nepála kuntalāḥ, sudesha bhota gāndhāra haiva kanojanās tathā*. Ls. 13.

2) None of the Gaudians show any trace of the Paisáchi change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *l*; nor is any specimen of Paisáchi found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient *Brhatkathá* of Guṇádhya is supposed to have been written in a Paisáchi dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

literary Prákrit (i. e., the Mh.-Śr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Śaurasenī and Mágadhī, and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahārāshṭrī¹). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhraṃṣa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paisāchī. The Apabhraṃṣa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paisāchī in the mouth of the aborigines²). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhraṃṣa*, as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paisāchī and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pālī. In order of time, therefore, Pś. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gd.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pālī), Ap. Pr., Gd.³).

1) Compare e. g. the past part. pass. Śr. and early Ap. *kadhido* or *ka-hido*, Mg. *kadhīde* or *kahīde*, Mh. *kahio*, later Ap. *kahiu* „said“.

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Pś. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Pś.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Pś., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e. g., R. T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6). — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl. Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12th century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Pś. is Vararuchi in the 1st cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Pś. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prákrit.

3) Pais. or Pāl. or Anc. Ap. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gd. *kahio* or *kahyo* said; Pś. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roïdo*, W. Gd. *roïo* or *royo* wept; Pāl. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamīde* or Ap. Śr. *gamido*, E. Gd. *gaïl* or *gelá* or W. Gd. *gaïo* or *gayo*.

I have spoken of the Apabhramsa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhramsa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of „the Abhīras and other similar people“¹), i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial languages (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhīrī (Sindhī, Marwārī), Āvantī (E. Rājputānī), Gaurjarī (Gujarātī), Bāhlīkā (Panjābī), Śaurasenī (W. Hindī), Māgadhī or Prāchyā (E. Hindī), Odrī (Orīyā), Gaudī (Bangālī), Dākshinātyā or Vaidarbhikā (Marāṭhī) and Saippalī (Naipālī?)²).

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Prākrits are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhramsas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prākrits. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī Prākrit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhramsas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the vernacular of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Mahārāshṭra (or Marāṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch.: *apabhramsas tu bhāshā syād abhīrā-digīrām chayaḥ* (Ls. 12). The Abhīrs, or Ahīrs as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good“ (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rājputs.

2) See the lists of K. I. and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.

cidentally at the end of the chapter on Śaurasenī¹). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Subhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Maráṭhī vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prákrit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadesvara, Márkaṇḍeya, Lakshmídhara, Rámatarkavágíṣa, etc., that the name Maháráshṭrī is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Maháráshṭra country²). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prákrit of the great kingdom“ (i. e., of the famed country of the Doáb and Rájputáná, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prákrit. According to this view the term Maháráshṭrī is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindí. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called is Western Hindí, and has no one point in common with Maráṭhī, in which the latter differs from Western Hindí (or W. Gaudian generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *iha* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a*-base and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

1) After finishing his remarks on the Śr., he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Máháráshṭrī“ (*śeṣam máháráshṭrīvat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the* Prákrit.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prákrit of the Maháráshṭra country is the principal Prákrit“ (*prákr̥tam maháráshṭradeśīyaṁ prakṛshṭabháshānam*); in Ls. 17.

four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a*-base), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Sr. Pr., as its name indicates (Śūrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent the old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Sr. for prose¹).

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhramṣas or vernaculars a Māgadhi and a Śauraseni Apabhramṣa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Māgadhi and the Śauraseni-Māhārāshtri, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low or Apabhramṣa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial; yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Sr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Māgadhi, Arddhamā-

1) Thus Viṣṇuātha Kavirāja in the Sahityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Sr., but Mh. in speaking in verse” (see Ls. 35).

gadhí, Dákshinátyá, Utkalí, and Śábarí¹). Mágadhí is the speech of modern Bihár and (western) Bangál, and corresponds generally to the present Bangálí (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Mágadh and Maithilí). Arddhamágadhí is described as a mixture of Mágadhí and Śaurasení (or Máháráshṭrī)²); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhí, that is, in the Banáras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpúrí or the E. H. *proper*. Dákshinátyá is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berár³) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráṭhí, and thus to this language generally⁴). Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oríyá. Śábarí is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshinátya on the one side and Mágadhí and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindí, Oríyá and Maráṭhí languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gaudian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhí Prákrit tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Śr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

1) So R. T. in the Prákrit Kalpataru; see Ls. 21.

2) Mḍ. quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Śr. (*saurasenya adúratvād iyam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharata*; 12th pada, fol. 49.); and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh. (*máháráshṭrīmīśrárdhamágadhí*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamágadhí, i. e. half mágadhí, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (= Mágadhí) and Western Hindí (= Máháráshṭrī-Śaurasení).

3) So in the S. D.: *dákshinátyá vaidarbhi* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dákshinátya is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráṭhí; e. g., Maráṭhí Bráhmans are generally known only as Dákshinátya Bráhmans.

The most important members of this group are the Māhārāshtrī, Saurasenī, Āvantī, Prāchyā, and Sakkī. The Māhārāshtrī and Śaurasenī together represent W. Hindī; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Śr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjābī, while Śr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)¹). Āvantī is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rājputānā. Prāchyā, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswārī²). Sakkī is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjāb³). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Śr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindī, Gujarātī, Panjābī and Sindhī. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipālī must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Śr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the Saurasenī Prākṛit tongue.

1) Śūrasenā is the name of the country about Mathura or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Śr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini, see Pl. 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindū tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king“ Vikramāditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country“ or Māhārāshtrī, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as the standard Prākṛit.

2) Prāchyā is explained in the S. D. as being equivalent to Gaudī (prāchyā gaudīyā, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangālī. But, on the other hand, Md. makes Prāchyā to be an offshoot of Śaurasenī (prāchyāsiddhiḥ śaurasenyāḥ 10th pāda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandī (see Ls. 33), the Gaudī follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃsas, both Md. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Prāchā from the Gaudī. If, then, the Gaudī is of the Śr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswārī, the intermediate dialect between E. Gd. and W. Gd.

3) Sakkī is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. sacae, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramāditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gd. and Śr. Pr. with N.-W. Gd. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhraṃṣas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable a priori — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being *deśya* (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhraṃṣa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prākṛit; i. e., one is *the* Apabhraṃṣa as the other is *the* Prākṛit¹). But, as in the case of *the* Pr., so also in the case of *the* Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

1) With Mḍ. this chief Ap. is called Nāgarāpabhraṃṣa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Śr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nāgarāṃ tu mahārāshṭrīśaurasenyoḥ pratishṭhitam*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha kareṇi dhareṇi ityadau tasya svarāṣeṣhatvaṃ mahārāshṭryāśrayeṇa karedi dharedi ity ādau datvaṃ śaurasenyaśrayeṇa mantavyam* (17th pāda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W. Gd. is shown by the fact, that Mḍ. gives the characteristic W. Gd. possess. pronouns *merā, terā*, to the Nāg. Ap. (*tvadīye teraṃ, madīye meraṃ* 17th pāda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Śr., on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a*-base end in *o* in Śr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gd. and N. Gd. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gd. and E. Gd. in *á*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly*: according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahe*, the Mg. Pr. in *áha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gd. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gd. in *á*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *á* of *áha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly*; from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gd. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a*-bases, while as to S. and E. Gd., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. H. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *ao* = Skr. *akah*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Śr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Śakarí, Śabarí and, by analogy, Dákshinátyá (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamágadhí (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly*; in Gd. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gd. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gd. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,

where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *ḍa* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 4, 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Mágadhís *d* and *ḍ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking¹). *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gḍ. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gḍ. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gḍ. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gḍ. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. H. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; देव you will give). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question²).

1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *iḍa*) the Low-Mg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Paṇḍits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ḍ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kaḍe* „done“. Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably

As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gd. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gd. together to the old Sr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Sr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ṣ* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *l* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292); and 4) *ksh* into *sk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s*, *r*, *j* into *ṣ*, *l*, *y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Sr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *ṭṭh* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk'*, and *chchh* a form *ṣch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *ṣch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *ṣch* is *ṣk*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ṣ*, would pronounce *sk* as *ṣk*, and the palatal *ṣ* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *ṣch*; finally *ṣch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are two steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are four steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *ṣk*, 3) *ṣk* into *ṣch*, 4) *ṣch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *ṣk*, when the Mh.-Sr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb as „to be“ was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be“ and the participle *gá* „gone“ and *lá* „come“ in this manner is of later date.

to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Śr. had *kkh*, but Mg. had *sk*. Here *sk* must be, probably, interpreted as *ṣk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.¹⁾ (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *ṣk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ṣ* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words B. and M. have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*²⁾. The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Śaurasenī tongue* and the *Māgadhi tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gd. from those of the S. and E. Gd. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Śr. area; a) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a*-base in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Kn.; b) the termination *á* of the obli-

1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *ṣk* (cf. Ls. 408. 428); but it has numerous examples of *ṣṭ*, where H. C. gives *ṣṭ* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *ḥk* with the *jihvámúliya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *preksh* „to see“, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekshate* and *peškadi* (or *peṣkadi*) in T. V. 3, 2. 34 and *peṣchadi* or *pechchhai* in T. V. 3, 2. 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *káchhe* „near“, „at“, E. H. *káhi* (Skr. *kakshe*); or B. *máchhi*, M. *máṣi*, E. H. *mákhí* (or *máchhi*) „fly“ (Skr. *makshiká*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *daṣin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south“ or *dáhin* „right“ (Skr. *dakṣiṇah*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn.; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gd. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chá* or old M. *chiyá*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *kṛtaḥ*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 377); d) the compound future in *lá* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Śr. future in *ih* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *al* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lá* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *ailá* „come“ (see § 509, 4). Again 2) there occur in the Śr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *neṃ, núṃ*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S. (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called Abhíri), though generally classed with the Śr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or Âvantí see Ls. 417. 419¹).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gd. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

1) Still the general character of the Âvantí or E. R. is Śaurasení; thus Md. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Śr.“ (*âvantí syân mahārāshṭrīśaurasenyoṣ tu saṃkarāt, anayoḥ saṃkarād âvantí bhāṣhā siddhā syāt* 11th pāda fol. 47^b); and afterwards he says that Bāhlíkí is allied to it (*dvantyaṃ eva vāhlíkí* ibid. fol. 48^a); see also Ls. 435. 436.

before the advancing tide of the Śr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Śr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The headquarters of the Śr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rājputānā. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *ih* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjāb and Western Rājputānā), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the developement and extension of the Śr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Śr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day

in all Gd. languages of North-India alike (see, § 474)¹). Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gd. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gd. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gd. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gd. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gd., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive“ of which naturally becomes a „middle voice“, afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme Western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfirí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages²) has called attention to their many affinities with the Gaudians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gd., the N.-W. Gd. or Sr. and the S.-E. Gd. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gd. *á*, Mg. Pr. *aë*; b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 23.

corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al* in E. H.¹⁾; c) the Káfirí has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present²⁾; d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *š*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gd. *chh*³⁾; e) Pashtú, like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah*, like the M. *lá*, and the dative affix *vatah*, like the E. H. *bate* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfirí were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Sr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Sr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gd. and the E. and S. Gd. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gd. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Varáruhi (1st cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kṛal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. **karide*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; and strong form Psh. *kaṛalai* = M. *kelá* (for *kailá* = *karilá*) = Ap. Mg. **karidae*, Skr. *kṛtakah*. — The other, i. e. the Sr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in a *quiescent* (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gd.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kar* or *krah* „done“, O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariü*, Mh. Pr. **kario*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; strong form Psh. *kaṛai* = Bs. *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaü*, Mh. Pr. **kariao*, Skr. *kṛtakah*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gd., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *balále* „he will say“ = M. *bolel*, E. H. *bolailá*.

3) e. g., Kf. *ší* „he is“ = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *áchhe*.

divisions of the Sr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gd. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gaudian poet Chand (end of 12th cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gaudian poets Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13th cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gaudian poet Bidyápati (middle of 14th cent. A. D.¹) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gd. writers of the 15th, 16th and 17th cent. (as the W. Hindí Kabír, the E. Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangalí Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhanj, the Maráthí Tukarám, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gd. languages already existing.

Note. I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. H. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gd. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a*-base is *á* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghorá ro*, G. *ghodá no* „of a horse“; Br. *ghore kau*, P. *ghore dá*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *nem*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghorai*, G. *ghodáe*, „by a horse“; Br. *ghore nem*, P. *ghore nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karasí*, G. *karase* but Br., *karihai* „he will do“; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is“; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15th cent.

Table of Affinities.

Literary.	High = Vernaculars = Low.						Semi- aryan.
	Ancient Sansk.						
Class. Skr.	Páli	Anc. Ap.					Pais.
	Mh.-Śr., Mg.	Ap. Mg.		Ap. Śr.			
		E. Gd.	S. Gd.	W. Gd.	N. Gd.		
	H. B., H. H., etc.	O., B., E. H.	M.	W. H., P., G., S.	N.		Urdú.

EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is very little to be said. In the E. H. proper or the Bhojpúrí there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. H., as the Maithilí. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyápatí and others of the Vaishṇava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. H. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. H. period are the writings of Tulsí Dás, especially his great work, the Rámáyan, a Hindí version of the well known story of Ráma, though not by any means a translation of Válmíki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsí Dás, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúrí, but the Baiswárí, which is a dialect formed by a mixture of W. and E. H. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsí Dás was a native of Hájipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúṭa in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-

dary particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's *histoire de la littérature Hindouie* vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poets wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardaí, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12th cent. He is the author of the *Prithiráj Rasau*, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15th cent., the author of the *Ramainis* and *Śabdās*. After him are Súr Dás of Mathurá, Nabhájí and Keshava Dás of Bijapúr, the authors respectively of the *Súrságar*, the *Bhaktamálá* and the *Rámchandrika*, etc. They flourished in the 16th cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Bihárí Lál of Ambir near Jaipúr, the author of the *Satsai*, and Lál Kavi from Bandelkhand, the author of the *Chhatra Prakāś*, in the 17th cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's *hist. de la litt. Hind.* They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthis) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. H. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. H., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.

THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it“ or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gaudian words which have retained exactly the same form as they were in Sanskrit; e. g., E. H. *bhrátá* „brother“, *rájá* „king“. But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gd. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the *tadbhava* words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamá* „forgiveness“, for Skr. *kshamá*; E. H. *ágyá* „command“, for Skr. *ájñá*; E. H. *bisnu* „Vishnu“, for Skr. *vishnuḥ*; E. H. *kripá* „mercy“, for Skr. *kṛpá*; E. H. *karam* „work“, for Skr. *karma*; E. H. *putar* „son“, for Skr. *putraḥ*. These might be called *semitatsamas*.

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it“ or *Prákritic*¹⁾. It denotes those Gd. words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically it includes all those words which have come into Gd. from the Prákrit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of *tadbhavas*; thus S. R. (fol. 1^a) *saṃskṛtabhavaś cha dvidhá, sáddhyamánasaṃskṛtabhavaś siddhasaṃskṛtabhavaś cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so.“ It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *rát* and *rattí* „night“ (H. C. 2, 88), both for Skr. *rátriḥ*. The latter (*rattí*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *rátriḥ* is evident and follows from the general rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79. 1, 84); but the former (*rát*) is a *sáddhyamána tadbhava*, because its identity must be established by a special rule (viz. H. C. 2, 88). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gd. I have distinguished as *semitatsamas* from the proper *tadbhavas* (as *putar* and *pút* „son“), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 13—17). But our „*semitatsamas*“ or „*late tadbhavas*“ are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas*; for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Śr. Thus compare the following prákrit words with the above list of sanskritic ones: E. H. *bhái* „brother“ for A. Mg. *bháie*; E. H. *ráy* „king“ for A. Mg. *láyá* or *láá*; E. H. *khct* „field“ for A. Mg. *khettam* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. H. *dáhin* „right“ for Pr. *dáhiṇam* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dákshinam*); E. H. *án* „order“ for Mg. *aññá* (H. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kánh* „krishṇa“ for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *krishṇaḥ*); E. H. *kisán* „husbandman“ for A. Mg. *kisáne* (Skr. *kṛshāṇaḥ*); E. H. *kám* „work“ for A. Mg. *kamme*; E. H. *pút* „son“ for A. Mg. *putte*; etc. It should be remembered that the Gḍs. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Śr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Śr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gḍ. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *rāti* „night“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *lattí* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rái* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *rattí*); E. H. *kháil* „eaten“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *kháida*, but Mh. Pr. *kháio*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gaīs* (= *gai* + *s* „thou wentest“), for Ap. (Śr.) Pr. *gaiu si* or *gaído si* or *gamido si* (Páli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gado si*) and E. H. *gailēs* or *gailēs* „thou wentest“, for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gaída si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prákrit or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town“; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *ṇayalam* or *ṇaalam*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaram* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *ṇagalam*.

Native grammarians add the *deśya*, as a third division, to the tatsama and tadbhava¹). The term *deśya* means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1^a) *iha prákrtaśabdás tridhā, saṃskṛtasamás saṃskṛtabhavad deśyáś cheti*; i. e. „there are three kinds of Prákrit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born).“

to the country"; i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rure* or *provincia*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Pandits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these *deśya* words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prākritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan. Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when Paisāchī and the Ancient Apabhraṃṣa were spoken by the subject aborigines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *theṭh* or *gāṃvārī* and the *kharī* or *nāgarī bhāshā*. *Theṭh* means *genuine* or *pure* and *gāṃvārī* means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gāṃ* = *grāma* „village“); again *kharī* means *standard* and *nāgarī* *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar* „town“). The relation of these two *bhāshās* is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the *theṭh bhāshā* the auxiliary verb is pronounced *bārai* or *bārai*, but in the *kharī bhāshā* *bātai*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdū words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. H. appended to this grammar, being written by a Pandit, are rather in the *kharī* than in the *theṭh bhāshā*.

FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithí* (कैथी or कड़थी) alphabet. Its name is derived from *Káyath* (Skr. कायस्थ), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern *Devanágari*, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is omitted by the *Kaithí* in all letters alike¹). It will be further noticed, that in *Kaithí* the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of *Nágari* letters: 1) ण (properly = *n*) for the nasals ङ *ñ*, ञ *ṇ*, ण *ṇ*; 2) श (a combination of *s* and *ṣ*) for the sibilants स *s*, ष *ṣ*, श *sh*; 3) ब for the labials ब *b* and व *v*; 4) ज (properly = *j*) for the palatals ज *j* and य *y*; and also that of the two forms of *ch* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels *Kaithí* has only four fundamental signs: अ *ā*, इ *ī*, उ *ū*, ए *e*. The others

1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the *Devanágari*, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.

are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *í* and *ú* are rarely distinguished from *ĩ* and *ũ* or the medial *ú* from *ũ*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithí alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanágari, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithí, the Bangálí, the Oríyá and the Gurmukhí. The Kaithí is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústán, Maráthá and Gujarát. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangálí, Oríyá and Gurmukhí are used in Bangál, Orissá and the Panjáb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhí probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nának, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithí, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nágari or Devanágari and the Mahájani or Koṭhívál. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithí or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanágari (divine city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a caligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahájani (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the shorthand writing of the merchants and bankers, their *Koṭhívál* or *office-writing*; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanágari, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindí and Maráthí; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

will probably in course of time entirely supersede the Kaithí; perhaps not altogether an advantage, as it can be written with less rapidity and ease than its rival.

1. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ. Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ I shall adopt the Gurmukhí or Bangálí forms of the ordinary Nágari signs, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form (ँ and ऎ) instead of a slightly curved one (ँ and ऎ). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot (·) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke (ı) is placed after it to denote the long ॐ; in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

Initial: — अ ऌ आ ऎ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ ऐँ ऐँँ औँ औँँ

Noninit.: = - 1 7 7 6 7 7 7 7 7 7

Note: The neutral vowel requires no initial form, as it never occurs in the beginning. The short *ă* has no non-initial form, as it is inherent in the consonant, which could not be pronounced without it. When it is necessary to indicate the mere consonant, an oblique stroke, called the *virāma* or *stoppage*, is appended to the consonantal sign; thus क *kă*, but क् *k*. The manner of writing the non-initial signs may be seen from the following examples; क *k*, क *kă*, का *kā*, कि *kī*, को *kī*, कु *kū*, कू *kū*, के *kē*, के *kē*, को *kō*, को *kō*, कै *kāi*, कै *kāi*, कौ *kāi*, कौ *kāi*.

4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *amiable*, *centre*. It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as *ě* is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and *õ* like the Hebrew *Khateph Qamez*.

5. The five special E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the *quiescent* *ã* (see § 24), as घर- ghar' house, for घर ghar; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर-वा ghar'vá house; घोड़-वा ghõr'vá horse; कर-तो kar'tõ if I did; पढ़-लो parh'lõ I read, etc. A compound consisting of two polysyllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short *ě*, *õ*, *aĩ*, *aũ* occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटिया bẽṭiyá daughter; परोसिया parõsiyá neighbouring; लोट-वा lõṭ'vá vessel; बोलावत् bõlávát calling; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के *kě* and कै *kaĩ* as घर के ghar *kě* of the house (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in ह् (see § 433), as जेह् कर jẽh kar of which (but जे कर jé kar); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् *ěs*, ऐन् *ẽn* and ऐँ *aĩ* (see §§ 504. 506); as कर-तेस् kar'tẽs (if) thou didst; पढ़-लेस् parh'lẽs he read; रह-लेस् rah'lẽs thou remainedst; कर-तेन् kar'tẽn (if) they did; पढ़-लेन् parh'lẽn they read; कर-तैँ kar'taĩ (if) they did; पढ़-लैँ parh'laĩ they read; 5) in the suffix ए *ě* of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहे के kahẽ *kě* having said; 6) in some frequently used words, as और aũr or औ aũ and (see § 26).

6. *Affinities.* The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) *ě* and *õ* must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in षोढा (or षिढा for निढा Vr. 1, 12), षोडुं (for नीडुं Vr. 1, 19), सेचं (for शैत्यं Vr. 1, 35), सेज्ञा (for शया Vr. 1, 5), सेव्वा, ऐक्कं (for सेवा, एकं Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोत्ता (for मुक्ता Vr. 1, 20), ज़ोव्वाणं (for यौवनं Vr. 1, 41), तेल्लोक्कं (for त्रैलोक्यं Vr. 3, 58), etc.

See Ls. 145. 149. Cw. XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by Pr. Gramm., except in the Ap. Pr. by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4. 68), कादिस्वैदोत्तोर उच्चारलाघवम् । i. e., after consonants ě and ǒ are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels ě, ǒ, aĩ, aũ and the neutral vowel are peculiar to E. Gd. The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by Gd. Grammarians. As regards the short vowels, B. shows the short ě, e. g., in ऐक् ěk *one*, and short ǒ in गोम् gǒm *wheat*, बोले bǒle *he speaks*, etc. Oriyá, generally, follows the example of B. (see Bs. I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute ǎ for ǒ in writing; thus B. गम्, बले; the same as occasionally in E. H. (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all Gd. languages possessed ě and ǒ; S. has still preserved the ě in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces ě to ĭ, and always ǒ to ŭ (see Tr. X—XIII). The other W. Gd. languages always substitute ĭ and ŭ for ě and ǒ (as to ě and ǒ in P. see Ld. 4); even the E. Gds. do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. S. Ch. 330). The Psh. has both ě and ǒ (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33—35). — In B. the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like ǒ, e. g., बड़ bǒrǒ *great*; but it must not be confounded with the real ǒ which is a shortening of ओ ó, while this ǒ is a modification of अ ă; as shown by O., which pronounces ă; e. g., बड़ bǎră. E. H. agrees with the W. and S. Gds. in dropping the vowel ă at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the Psh. and Kf. still retain it (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct य् or व् before the final अ, the latter is commonly pronounced, as योग्य *yogyā worthy*, तत्त्व *tatva substance*.

Note: The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as H. H. बिनती *bintí* for बिनन्ती *bin'tí petition*, H. H. दुल्हा *dulhá* for दुल्हन्हा *dul'há bridegroom*, M. राम्या *rámyá* for रामन्या *rám'yá Rám*, or घोड्या *ghoḍyá* for घोडन्या *ghoḍ'yá of a horse* (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.

7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ऋ *ṛi*, ॠ *ṛi*, लृ *lṛi*, ॡ *lṛi* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr. they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gd. In Hindí certainly, whether E. or W., they are never *pronounced*. In H. H. it is customary to *write* ऋ *ṛi* in tats. words; but in *speaking* the syllable रि *ri* or even इर *ir* is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत *ambrosia* is always pronounced *amrit* (अम्रित्) or *amirt* (अमिर्त्); Skr. कृपा *favor* *kripá* (क्लिपा) or *kirpá* (क्लिर्पा). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prákrit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindí phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization*. In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compensation*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (◌̃), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels य् and व्; e. g., रहतोँ *rah'tō̃*, लेईँ *leĩ̃*, कोईँ *koĩ̃*, होठ् *hōṭh*, नींदू *nīd̃*, or चललँ *chalalā̃*, कुम्भूर *kuṃbūr*, कुम्भारी *kuṃbārĩ̃*, जाँय् *jāỹ*, जाँव् *jāṽ*.

9. *Derivation and affinities*. The *anunásika* generally (except occasionally before ह् and स्, see § 67) indicates the elision of a consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127. 128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gds.; see § 23.

2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses *thirty five* consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or *mutes*, five *nasals*, nine *semi-*

vowels and one sibilant. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *múrdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

in the following table:

	Consonants proper				Nasals	Semivowels		Sibilants
	surd or hard		sonant or soft		sonant	sonant or soft		surd
	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	unaspirate	aspirate	unasp.
guttural	क् <i>k</i>	ख <i>kh</i>	ग <i>g</i>	घ <i>gh</i>	ङ <i>ṅ</i>	—	ह <i>h</i>	—
palatal	च् <i>ch</i>	छ <i>chh</i>	ज <i>j</i>	झ <i>jh</i>	ञ <i>ṇ</i>	य <i>y</i>	—	—
cerebral	ट् <i>ṭ</i>	ठ् <i>ṭh</i>	ड् <i>ḍ</i>	ढ् <i>ḍh</i>	ण <i>ṇ</i>	र <i>r</i>	रह <i>rh</i>	—
dental	त् <i>t</i>	थ <i>th</i>	द् <i>d</i>	ध <i>dh</i>	न् <i>n</i>	रू <i>r</i> or ल <i>l</i>	ह्र <i>rh</i> or ल्ह <i>lh</i>	स् <i>s</i>
labial	प् <i>p</i>	फ <i>ph</i>	ब् <i>b</i>	भ <i>bh</i>	म् <i>m</i>	व <i>v</i>	—	—

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz*¹⁾. This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhi²⁾. In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts + h*, *dz*, *dz + h*³⁾. It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the semidentals occur in Psh. and Kf.⁴⁾. In M.,

1) Thus, e. g., Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian“ (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Bs. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 393. XXI, 20. 23.

छ् is almost universally pronounced and written स् or (generally before palatal vowels) ण्; e. g., M. रीस् *bear*, E. H. रोछ्; M. सूरी *knife*, E. H. छूरी; M. माशो *fly*, E. H. माछो (see Bs. I, 218). In Mw., both च् and छ् are pronounced (but not usually written) स्; e. g., Mw. सक्की *wheel* for E. H. चक्की; Mw. सास् *buttermilk* for E. H. छाछ् (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally छ् as ण्; e. g., G. शो *who* for S. छा (see § 438, 6); B. काणे or काछे *near* (Bs. I, 218); S. सी for Mth. ह्री *we are*, P. सन् for N. इन् *they are*.

Note: Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तयोच्चारणः, which is explained by Bhāmaha चवर्गो यथा स्पष्टस् तयोच्चारणो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be *distinct*“. My MS. of Md. (12th páda, fol. 48^b) reads चययोरुपत्तयः स्यात्। यकारागमः। चिचिर्। य्यात्र ॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चययोरु उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „*ya* is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this *ya* is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymáa* (?)”¹). My MS. is a Nágari copy of one in Oṛiyá characters, in which य् and प् and again त् and रि would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मनागुच्चार्याः, which would yield a sense similar to that of Md.^s rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with *ya* are slightly pronounced”; or, perhaps, rather: „*ya* in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron.” This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Vocative (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49^a); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Drávidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymáa* mother (*mátá*) or illusion *máyá*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as डैरक्टर *director*, सार्टिफिकेट *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjudged non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ङ् and ण् have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and ल् which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals¹). The next was the semivowel ञ् which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal ण् became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ङ्. Cp. vedic मृड *gracious* with Skr. मृदु *gentle*; also R. मृड् or मृङ् with मृद्; नट् with नृत्; नड् with नर्द्, etc.

are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prákrits and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Drávidian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) ण¹) is cerebralized to ण्, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral ण् a fully cerebral ण has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Drávidian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal ण् *n̄*, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया *aṅgiyá bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The ज् *n̄* and ण् *n̄*, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theth*) forms of E. H.; thus जाही° *náhi* no, अगिजा *agiṇá fire*, पारसिङ् *narsingh manlion*, पारैण *nárain Náráyan*, पाणी *páni water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न् *n*, as नाही° *náhi*, नरसिङ् *narsingh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण् *n̄*, as कार्ण *káran cause* for Skr. कार्ण *karāṇa*. Hence the Kaithí alphabet has no special signs for ज् *n̄* and ण् *n̄*; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न् *n*. When any of the five

1) The Europeo-aryan *r* and *n* are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *paṅk mire*, अंत *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvāra*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. *anusvāra* which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities.* The two nasals ङ् and ञ् (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (ञ्), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य् *ny* and ण्य् *ṇy* change to उञ् *ññ*. Agreeably with this, ञ् occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *theth bhāshās*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अगिजा *fire* for अगिनिया, Mg. Pr. अगिणिए (see Ls. 244 अगिणी), Skr. अग्निकः; आही *not* for आही = ने + आही (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. अगिजा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) अगिना (Skr. अज्ञा). So also in N. घाजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. थे) for Ap. Pr. णाणि or घाणे, Skr. स्थाने; लिजा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिना)¹. S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पुज *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुज्जं, Skr. पुण्यं; S. थजु *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. थज्जं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वजे *goes*, Mg. Pr. वज्जइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. वन्यते (§ 18); S. मजे *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मज्जइ, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhamāgadhī which has न् *nn*² (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुन्नं; E. H. बनै *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. वन्नइ; E. H. मानै *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मन्नइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal ङ् (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as ङ्कु

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic ञ् after इ; as उराजा *feared* for उराइजा (उराया); थिजा *was* for थिजा; रुपिजा *money* for रुपिजा; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as रुपिजा *money*, अगिजा *order*, however, I have heard also in *theth Panjābī*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has ण् *ṇṇ* for ण्य् *ṇy* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न् *nn* for न्य् *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44. 1, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).

añu body, मङ्गु *mañanu* ask (E. H. मङ्गु); and apparently O. too (see Sn. 18), as केङ्गु *keñu* who, येङ्गु *jeñu* which. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps ङ also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards ण and न्, every ण changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every medial न् and optionally every initial न् become ण in all other Prs. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, ण is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in the Hindi. It is, however, now confined more or less to the theth or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, ण (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्¹). Thus E. H., etc. पाणी, M. पाणी^२ *water*, Pr. पाणिञ्च (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्, but H. H., etc. पानी; E. H. पारैण् or नारैन् *Nārāyaṇ*, Mg. Pr. पारायणे or नारायणे, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards म्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Pr. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जङ्गमा *Jamna* for Skr. यमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels र *r*, र्ह *rh*, ल्ह *lh* and र्ह *rh*. The र *r* is a pure dental like ल्, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); र्ह and ल्ह are their respective aspirates, pronounced as *r + h* and *l + h*, as बर्है *barhai* grows, कोल्हू *kolhū*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only न्; the other Prs., as a rule, only ण. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Introd. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial न्; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of न् to ण at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नाम्ना (not पाप्ना) for Skr. न्यायः. This circumstance — unless Vr's silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.

sugarmill. The ऋ , pronounced $r + h$, as बुढ़ियाँ *burhiyá old woman*, is the aspirate of ऌ which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr. ऌ r . For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental¹). In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral ऌ r which is the new letter, but the dental ऌ r . The old Skr. ऌ has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by ऌ . To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhí form ऌ for ऌ and ऌ for ऌ , and the Gurmukhí cerebral ऌ for the Skr. cerebral ऌ . The aspirates ऌ rh and ऌ lh are single sounds in the same sense as ऌ rh ; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with ऌ dh , precisely as ऌ , ऌ and ऌ with ऌ d .

16. *Affinities*. Vedic Skr. has a cerebral ऌ l and ऌ lh , which in certain schools take the place of an original medial ऌ d and ऌ dh (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semi-vowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from ऌ and ऌ arise (cerebral) ऌ and ऌ , then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral) ऌ or ऌ and ऌ , then (dental) ऌ and ऌ , finally E. Gd. (dental) ऌ and ऌ . Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial ऌ , have in E. H. an ऌ , as O. H. फल *fruit* for W. H. फल ; E. H. उरहे *it grows up* for W. H. उलहे . Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindús seem to be hardly conscious of saying ऌ instead of ऌ . This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H. ऌ is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than ऌ , of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification²). Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr. ऌ is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full cerebral ऌ be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavatí (see Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has ऌ for ऌ (H. C. 4, 288), ऌ for ऌ (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and ध or ह for ध (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd., ऌ for ऌ , elides ऌ , and uses only ह (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H. C. कलेदि , in Bhg. करेइ , in E. H. करै *he does*; in H. C. यापाथ or तापाह , in Bhg.

dental ॠ, there must have been formerly a ल्. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. 3, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, 8. 10. 12. 13), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ॠ into ल्, that is, it turns the cerebral ॠ into the dental ल्. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ल् into dental ॠ; e. g., Skr. ॠत्तिः *night*, Mg. Pr. लत्ती, E. H. रात्; Skr. नः *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नॠ. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेत्रुरी for Mg. Pr. *लंजुलिआ (with pleonastic लिआ = डिका) = Skr. रंजू, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लडइ, Skr. रटति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ॠ (= Skr. cerebral ॠ) into dental ॠ, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ल् is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix डा which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. डेडो *goat*, E. H. डेली or डेरी (Skr. ङगी, Ap. Pr. ङायडिआ), or W. H. नाडो *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी¹). Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ल् into (dental) ॠ, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ल् also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फॠ; Skr. कदलकः, Mg. Pr. कयलए or केलए, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ल्, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लंबः *long*, Mg. लंबे

जाणह, in E. H. जानह् *you know*. It appears, then, that the change of ॠ to ल् belongs to the most ancient period of Mg., and that the present phonetic state (of ॠ for ल्) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ल्) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ॠ to E. H. ॠ, through Mg. ल्.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ल् was already present in Skr.; cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ल and र; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नळ *tubular reed, bone, artery*, etc., whence perhaps नः *man*; and Skr. नाडी or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्मे (see § 18), E. H. लाम (W. H. लंभा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of ण or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes णा or ना for ला (e. g., अपणा or अपना *own*, cf. M. अपला); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral ण contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *rn*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Md. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *pāschā* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*¹). It is also noticeable that in the Kaithī alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (र) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (ठ) and still preserved in the Gurmukhī for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (ल) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (ः), and improved into the modern Devanāgarī (र). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of ठ to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gd. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) र is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and र, nor have they a cerebral र²), but on the other hand they possess a cerebral र् ल. The same is true of the S. Gd., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gds. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral र् to र, and rarely its ल् to र; hence, probably, its र is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Md. पाश्चाया रेफव्यत्ययेन (18th páda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यज्ञा स्याद् रलपर्ययेण (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their र् is always *ḍ*, not *r*; and their *r* is equivalent to र् र; whence, e. g., W. H. बहेला *wild hog*, probably written for बहेला = बर्हेला from Skr. बराह + pleon. ला; W. H. मंजार or मंजार for Skr. मार्जार.

every respect; it has the dental ॠ and cerebral ॡ, the interchange of ॢ and ॠ, and no ॣ; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange ॢ and ॠ. N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental ॠ and cerebral ॡ, and the want of ॣ; and though they do not interchange ॢ and ॠ, they have the analogous change of ॢ to ॣ or ॡ. The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the ॣ; this is strange; I suspect that its ॣ is not a pure cerebral; for sometimes it has both ॣ and ॢ, e. g., गोल and गोळ *ball*; sometimes it has ॢ, where the W. Gds. have ॣ, e. g., G. टळूँ, M. टळणे, but O. टलिआ *to confound*. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral ॡ; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páschá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels य् and व् are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीयै *he lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीअइ); खायल् *eaten* for खाइल् (Pr. खाइदे); जाय् के *having gone* for जाइ के; जाय् they may go for जा + ऐ; again लेवै *to take* for लेऐ; रोवल् *he wept* for रो + अल्; घोड़वा *horse* for घोड़वा; जाव् *I may go* for जाअै, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí, व् is always written for व्, and य् not uncommonly for य्. Whenever such apparently organic य् or व् occur initially, they must be pronounced य् or व् respectively; as योग् or जोग् *jog worthy*; संयुत or संजुत *sañjut joined*; वात् or बात् *bát word*; बाटै or बाटै *bátai he is*; संवत् or संबत् *sambat year*. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा *játrá pilgrimage*, आचार्य *ácháraj preceptor*. The sound of व् is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly *b* nor *v*; of the two it is nearer to *b*; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *theṭh bháshá*; in the *kharí bháshá*, it is, as a rule, distinctly *b*. The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic* य् or व् ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नारैन्

or नारायण *Nārāyan* (Pr. नारायणे); देवोदार *pine* (Pr. देवदारु). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देवता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write य् and ञ्; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities*. This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial य् always changes to ञ् in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even ञ् (whether initial or medial) changes to य् (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. योजनम्, Sr. ज्ञेयं, Mg. योयं. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately foisted on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature —, that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the य्, which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semi-vowel *y*, there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the difficulty appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j*, and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds *v* and *b* and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants* य्

and य़ . The palatal semiconsonant y still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjáb¹⁾. But from the Pr. Gramm.' statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of य़ and य़् on the one side and of य़ and य़् on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants* य़ and य़् is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic* य़ and य़् ²⁾. The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels y and v ; whence it follows, that the organic य़ and य़् must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants³⁾. It is this semiconsonant य़ ,

1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of य़्), but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabi says मक *majh* “a buffalocow” the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal y aspirated; perhaps in German by *möch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*” (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to g (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. $\text{कुचियत्वं वा ॥ गगणं गयणं वा ॥ 46. कुचिद् वत्वं वा । सुहृन् सुहृन् वा ॥}$ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic y or v is inserted, as *gayanam* for *gaanam* (Skr. *gaganam*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagah*). Again H. C. 1, 180. अवर्णो यश्नुतिः ; and T. V. 1, 3. 10 यश्नुतिः । नयर् ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels अ or आ an euphonic y is pronounced; as *nayaram* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Md. 2, 2. has $\text{अनादाव् अदितौ वणौ पठित्वौ । यकारवदिति पाठशिक्षा ॥}$ (MS. fol. 8^a). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. 1, 3. 10 calls the euphonic y लघुप्रयत्नतर्यकार „pronounced with smaller effort”; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic य़ the Pr. पायणं *eye* for Skr. नयनं is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.) य़ was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic य़ . Again य़ and य़् are in Pr. sometimes *vocalized* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form ए and ओ ; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr. प or ब , but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.¹⁾. They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons. व् for an initial or a conjunct Skr. ब ; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj. म्ब *mb* does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into म्म *mm*, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr. म्व *mv* with the semicons. व् ²⁾. Thus Skr. तम्बु° , Pr. तम्बु° or तंबु° (Spt. 192); Skr. निम्ब° , Pr. णिम्ब° or णिंब° (Spt. 252); Skr. अम्बु° , Pr. अम्बु or अंबु (Spt. A. 32); Skr. त्रिम्बं , Pr. त्रिम्बं or त्रिंबं (Spt. 208); also Pr. अम्बं or अंबं (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr. अम्);

occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the य् and व् thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr. जयति of $\text{जि} + \text{अति}$ is Pr. जेदि , Skr. भवति of $\text{भू} + \text{अति}$ is Pr. होदि , Skr. तन्वी of $\text{तनु} + \text{ई}$ is Pr. तणुई , etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants य् and व् are not vocalized, but as a rule *elided*; thus Skr. नयनं is Pr. णाम्नां (T. V. 1, 3. 8); Skr. लावण्यं is Pr. लाम्नां (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels य् and व् are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants य् and व् like consonants. Again note the change of Skr. झया to Pr. झाहा (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15 पो वः *v takes the place of p*; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61 बो वः *v takes the place of b*; Vr. 2, 2 पयवां प्रायो लोपः ; Md. 2, 2 प्रायः पयवां लोपः (MS. fol. 8*) „as a rule *v* etc. are *elided*”. These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant ब ; thus H. C. 4, 396 $\text{अनादौ स्त्रादसंयुक्तानां कलतथपकां गघदधञभाः}$ „medial single *p*, *ph* etc. become *b*, *bh* etc.”.

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr. 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced ब् *b*, not व् *v*; otherwise the forms ought to be तम्मू , etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr. 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant ब *b*, but only to neutral व् ; the example लोदयो for Skr. लब्धकः does not prove that it does, as व् would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.

Skr. चुम्बति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्बइ or चुंबइ (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. ब् were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant व्. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S. Gd., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. ब् in the place of the Skr. conjunct म्ब, the E. Gd., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gd. practices, cf. § 16), shows म् which postulates in Mg. a conjunct म्म्¹⁾ and hence the pronunciation म्ब for Skr. म्ब; thus Skr. तम्बुः, Mh.-Sr. तम्बू, M. तौबू, G. तौबु, but E. H., B., O. ताम्, S. तामु, Mg. *तम्मू; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बो, W. H., M., G. नीबू, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. *निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बूओ, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, S. निमु or लिमु, Mg. *निम्मू; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. *लम्मे; Skr. अमृम्, Mh.-Sr. अम्बं, W. H., P. अम्ब, M. अम्बा, G. अँबो, but E. H., B., O. अाम्, S. अामो (also अम्बु), Mg. *अम्मं; Skr. तामृम्, Mh.-Sr. तम्बं, W. H., P. तौबा, M. तौबे, G. तौबू, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. *तम्मं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. *कम्मले, E. H. कम्मल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. *म्म् is preserved; Skr. सम्बुध्यते, Mg. *सम्मुक्तइ, E. H. समुक्ते²⁾. *Secondly*, while E. Gd. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant व्, the other Gd. languages have either the semivowel व् or the consonant ब् (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gur-mukhí (i. e. Panjábí) and Gujarátí alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithí (incl. Devanágari), Bangálí and Oriya have only one, namely व्, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. व्) or *over* (O. व̇) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. रावन् *Rávan*,

1) The Mg. semicons. व् seems to have a tendency to change to म्, e. g., Mg. माहण for वाहण (Skr. ब्राह्मण); Mg. वेसमण for वेसवण (Skr. वैश्रवण); see Wb. Bh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्मु^० the assimilation म्म् appears to be common to all Gds.; cf. Bs. II, 108. H. समकौती, G. समजुती, M. समजूत्.

कवन् *kavan* *who*; but वचन् *bachan* *word*, वन् *ban* *wood*¹⁾. On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब् remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant व् in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. व् in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. व् has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant ब्, and the Mg. medial semicons. व् has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel व् and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. ब्रुध्यते, Mg. बुद्धइ, E. H. ब्रूँ *he knows*; Skr. शपथम्, A. Mg. सवहं, E. H. सोह. The case of य् and ज्ञ् is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant य्, to which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers²⁾. From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant व् was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब्, so the semicons. य् was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. य् and cons. ज्ञ्; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct म्ब *mb* is pronounced in Mg. म्व *mv* and changed to म्म *mm*, so the Skr. conjunct ञ्ज *ñj* is in Mg. pronounced *ज्य *ñy* and becomes उज *ññ*³⁾. Once more: as the Bangálí and Oṛiyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and *j*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. य्) or hook (O. य्) under the य् when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons. व् was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*; as indeed it is in Devanágari, the alphabet of W. H. and M., where व् (i. e. व or dot within व) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 ज्ञो यः *y* takes the place of *j*; H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 ज्ञययां यः *y* takes the place of *j*, *dy* and *y*.

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 न्यपयज्ञञ्जां उजः *ññ* takes the place of *ñj* etc.; as मज्जली for Skr. मञ्जली, धपाज्जए for Skr. धनञ्जयः, पज्जले for Skr. पाञ्जलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is मिजु *marrow* for Skr. *माञ्ज⁰ (see Tr. XXVII).

of *y*¹). On the other hand the Gurmukhí and (in this case also) Kaithí have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *b*²). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. \bar{v} , so here too the Mg. init. semicons. \bar{y} has been hardened in the modern E. Gd. into the full consonant \bar{y} , and the Mg. medial semicons. \bar{y} is softened into the semivowel \bar{y} , vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. ज्ञानाति *he knows*, Mg. याणड, E. H. ज्ञानै; Skr. रजनी *night*, Mg. रयणी, E. H. रइनि or रैनि. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Pr. of the Bhagavatí, where *ry* and *rj* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithí has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. \bar{y} , but only the double semicons. \bar{y} , following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. \bar{y} , whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. \bar{y} is confirmed

1) This shows again that the semicons. \bar{y} was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhámaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term स्याने (he says जकारस्य यकारो भवति), which he employs in all other sūtras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says यकारसकारयोः स्याने शकारो भवति; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 र्यकार्जकारयोः स्याने यो भवति i. e. *yy* for *rj* and *ry*. Now in the Bhagavatí *rj* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhámaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *rj* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhám'. time the semicons. \bar{y} had already hardened into the full cons. \bar{y} , though it was still written \bar{y} (as in modern B. and O.), but the double \bar{y} was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gd., however, it too has hardened to \bar{y} .

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithí, too, a dot is placed under \bar{y} , when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus सत्य *true*; which shows, that formerly \bar{y} (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct ञ् *jñ* in Pr. and Gd. According to the Pr. Gramm. ञ् changes to ण् *ṇ* in Mh.-Sr.¹⁾ (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 1, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to उञ् *ñ* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to न् *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gds. show no trace of the form उञ् *ñ*, but have always न् *n* or ण् *ṇ*; as Skr. राज्ञी *queen*, Pr. रणी or रनी, E. H. रानी or राणी, N. रानी, M. G. P. S. राणी; Skr. यज्ञोपवीतं *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *यज्ञोविश्रं or यज्ञोविश्रं (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G. ज्ञोड, E. H. ज्ञनड (for ज्ञोड see § 26. 122), M. ज्ञनवे, S. ज्ञपायो, W. H. ज्ञनेड; Skr. आज्ञा *order*, Pr. आणा (Vr. 3, 55) or आना, H. आन्; Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सणा or सना, H. सान् *sign*; Skr. विज्ञापिका, Pr. विषन्त्रिआ or विन्नन्त्रिआ, H. बिनती *respectful information, petition*; Skr. संज्ञापिका, Pr. सषन्त्रिआ or सन्नन्त्रिआ, H. सनती *instead* (lit. *killing*)²⁾. If ञ् was pronounced as a semicons. (य्), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form न् *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons. य् had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of ञ्, beside that into ण् or न्. The Skr. base राज्ञ *king* becomes in Ps. Pr. राचिन (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr. राइण (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form *राज्ञिण or *राज्ञिन or Mg. *रायिञ. Here, evidently the conjunct ञ् has been dissolved into ज्ञिण or ज्ञिन, which the Ps., as usual, changes to चिन. On the same principle the E. H. word सइन् or सैन् *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. *सइणा or *सन्त्रिणा, Skr. संज्ञा³⁾. Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that ञ् of the R. ज्ञा *know* always becomes ञ् (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gd., which has ज्ञान्; they also say that ञ् of derivatives of the R. ज्ञा *optionally* becomes न् (H. C. 2, 83. T. V. 1, 4. 82. Vr. 3, 5); but Gd. shows no trace of this.

2) Also देवान् or देवाना *mad*, Pr. दइवषू (H. C. 2, 83) or *दैवन्नू, Skr. दैवज्ञः (lit. *inspired*); and बीन् or बीना *seeing*, Pr. *विषू or *विन्नू, Skr. विज्ञः (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

3) H. has both सान् and सैन् *hint*, but only रानी *queen*, not रैनी; probably to avoid confusion with रैनी *night* for Skr. रत्नी.

of ङ being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gd. either as ङ *g* (E. and W. Gd.) or ङ *d* (S. Gd.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ङ be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. ङ. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original ङिन becomes गिन or दिन. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of गिन्ना contracted to ग्य. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P. गिन्नान्, H. ग्यान् *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं; P. आगिन्ना, H. आग्या *order* for Skr. आज्ञा; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. ङग्ग् 'or ङग्ग् *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form ङग्ग् in which the conjunct ग्य *gy* has become subject to the ordinary Gd. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S. सर्वग्ग् *omniscient* for *सर्वग्यु (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °गिन° is changed to ग्या *gnya*; and M. has द्या *dnya* for °दिन°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. *gnyān*, in M. *dnyān*. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ङ *jñ* in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels ङ and ङ are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gd.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants ङ *s* and ङ *sh* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as स *s*, as शिव *siu* (सिउ) *Śiva*. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols ङ and ङ are commonly used; but they are always pronounced *s* and *kh* respectively (as ङ्ग् *khūs happy*, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithí) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanágari characters स *s* and ख *kh*.

20. *Affinities.* The sound of श्र had been already lost in all Prs.; that of श्र in the Mh.-Sr. and that of श्र in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gds. have श्र , the E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) has no श्र , W. and N. Gd. no श्र . S. Gd. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have, as a rule, no श्र . In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gd. (excl. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as श ; W., N., S. Gd. and E. H. as श . In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gd. both श्र and श्र are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal श ; thus शिव and विष्णु are *śiva* and *viṣṇu*. — In writing, the character श्र , more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the table), is preserved in all Gds., and used as a symbol of श्र *kh*. Similarly E. Gd. uses श्र , and W. and N. Gd. श्र , and S. Gd. श्र and श्र indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gds., the use of all three characters श , श्र , श्र (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. Such foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H. phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic) ق *q*, خ *kh*, غ *gh* and ح or ه become respectively the pure gutturals क , ख , ग and ह ; as कौल for قول *agreement*, खाली خالی *only or empty*; गरीब غریب *poor*; हाल حال *state*; हर هر *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic) ذ *ḏ*, ز *ẓ*, ص *ṣ*, ظ *ẓ* become pure palatal ज्ञ ; as कागज़ (O. H. कागद) کاغذ *paper*; जास्ती زیادتی *more* (see Bs. II, 54); जिमीदार زمیندار *landholder*; जामिन ضامن *surety*; जाहिर ظاهر *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english) *t* and *d* become pure cerebral ट and ड respectively; as कलक्टर *collector*, लाड *lord*.

4) The semidentals ط *t* and (sibilants) ث *ṭ*, ص *ṣ* and ش *sh* become pure dental त and स respectively; as तैयार طیار *ready*; साबित ثابت *proved*; साहिब صاحب *master, sir*; खूश خوش *kappy*.

5) The semilabial ف *f* becomes pure labial फ़, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., फ़ैदा *phaidá* for فائدة *faidá* profit.

6) The spirants ع *a* and (sometimes) و *v* are dropped, and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted; as مالم for معلوم *known*, مافى for موافق *like*.

3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्योऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अन्ने वि, E. H. अनउ or अनौ; Skr. वशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. तसेवन्ते or तसवन्ते, E. H. तसवन्त्; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*, Mg. दुव्वले, E. H. दूबर्; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निच्चिन्ते, E. H. निचीत्; Skr. निस्ताजयति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्यालइ, E. H. निथारै; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निष्फलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. अग्गी, E. H. अगि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुक्खं, E. H. दुख्; Skr. अन्तःकर्णं *conscience*, Mg. अंतक्कलणं, E. H. अंतकर्न्; Skr. निष्कालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालइ, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निष्वासाः *breath*, A. Mg. निस्सासे, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख्, अन्तःकर्ण्), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes¹⁾ it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *duḥkh*, and *antakaran* not *antaḥkaran*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as कर्बः *karaba* (you will do); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate nasalization (§§ 23.8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the *quiescence* of the *ā*, which could not be unless the *ā* were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a visarga.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvára* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The *anusvára* should be carefully distinguished from the *anunásika* (◌̣). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants¹⁾, are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant¹⁾, is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the *anuswára*, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *násikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them *anunásika* or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* an other sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. *anusvára*, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except *ṛ*, *ṣ* and *h*²⁾; but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, *ṅ*, *ṇ*, *ṁ*, *ṡ*, *m*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. *ṛ*, *ṣ*, *h* and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunásika*) is indicated by the sign (◌̣), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus *ṛ̣*, *ṣ̣*, *ḥ*, *ạ̄*, *ị̄*, *ụ̄*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or *anusvára*) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also *ṣ* and *sh*; and in Gd. also *ṛ*.

thus अं *ám* is the vowel *á* succeeded by a nasal tone, while अँ *á̃* is the nasalized vowel *á*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal ण् *m*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., Pr. and Gd. respectively, the following *general* laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the *body of the word*. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before स् *s* (ष्, ष्) and ह् *h* must be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it must be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, ण् or न् or म् (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before स् (Mg. ष्) must be the anusvára; b) before ह् and any cons. proper it may be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case ह् changes to ष् (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels ण्, न् and म् remain, as a rule, unchanged¹⁾; but occasionally म् before म् may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels it may become ष् with or without anunásika or be elided²⁾ (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2, 3. T. V. 1, 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gd.: a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before स्, ह्, and any cons. proper it may be either anunásika or the respective class-nasal; if anunásika, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, ह् becomes ष्; c) before semivowels

1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. अम्लिका *tamarind*, Pr. अमलिआ, H. इमली (see § 167).

2) Occasionally न् before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. गृहाणि *houses*, Pr. घराइं or घराइँ (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. घरेँ.

and vowels it is often changed to *anunásika*, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b)* Skr. हंसः *goose*, A. Mg. हंसे, E. H. हाँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, A. Mg. सिंहे or सिङ्हे (or सिंघे), E. H. सोँह or सोँघ or सिङ्घ (or सिंघ § 13); Skr. पङ्कः *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्के, E. H. पाँक् or पङ्क् (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अंजपां or अन्नपां, E. H. अँजन् or अन्नन्; Skr. कण्टकः *thorn*, Mg. कंटए or कण्टए, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skr. चन्द्रः *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँद् or चन्द्; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंप्ड or कम्पड्, E. H. काँपै or कम्पै; *ad c)* Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुणपां or पुन्नं, E. H. पुन्; Skr. मन्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मन्नुड्, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मड्, E. H. गमै; Skr. तम्बूलः *roseapple*, Mg. तम्बुले or *तम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. तामुन्; Skr. अम्रम् *mango*, Mg. अम्बं or *अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. अम्; Skr. जन्मयते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जम्मड् (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जामै or जमै; Skr. भ्रमरकः *bee*, Ap. भवँरड्, E. H. भौँर; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवल; Skr. कुमारः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुमँर or कुमर; Skr. स्थाने *at* (a place), Mg. थापो or (Ap.) थापि, E. H. थेँ; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पसतीसा or पपातीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पयँतीस्).

There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *α)* occasionally the *anusvára* is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β)* occasionally an *anusvára* is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ)* the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be *anusvára* (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ)* a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *α* and *β)* the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting *anunásika* for *anusvára*; *γ)* in this case also *anunásika* is substituted for *anusvára*; *δ)* either ह् is elided and the preceding

vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad α) Skr. विंशतिः *twenty*, Pr. वीसा, E. H. बीस्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, Pr. सीहो or सिंहो, E. H. सीह् or सीह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh*, Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास् or माँस् or मन्स्; Skr. संहर्ति *he collects*, Pr. संहर्इ or सहर्इ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before*, Pr. संमुहे or समुहे, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोही; Skr. पठन् *reading*, Mg. पठंते, E. H. पठन्; Skr. संस्यः *together with*, Mg. संये or सत्ये, E. H. साय्; ad β) Skr. वक्रम्, Pr. वंक्, E. H. बाँक्; Skr. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं, E. H. आँसू; Skr. सत्यम् *true*, Pr. सच्चं, E. H. साँच्; Skr. निद्रा *sleep*, Pr. णिद्रा, E. H. नीद्रू, etc. (see § 149); ad γ) Skr. पङ्क्तिः *row*, Pr. पंती, E. H. पाँति; ad δ) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign*, Pr. चिणहं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनंहा; Skr. ब्राह्मणः *Bráhma-man*, Mg. बम्हणो, E. H. बामन् or बमहन्; Skr. कृष्णः *krishna*, Mg. कणहे, E. H. कान् or कनह् (as in कानपुर *Cawnpúr* and कनहैया लाल *Kanhaiyá Lál*); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अम्ह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. कुष्माण्डः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहर्; Skr. युष्मद्, Pr. तुम्हद्, E. H. तोहरा *your*. Secondly; as regards the nasal म् at the end of a word: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it may become anusvára or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains म् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it must become anusvára; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvára or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunásika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. Ś. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunásika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं त्रोटयति or फलन्त्रोटयति *he breaks fruit*, Pr. फलं तोडेइ, E. H. फर् तोडै; Skr. फलं लभते or फलल्लभते *he takes fruit*, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फर् ले; Skr. फलमवहति *he gathers fruit*, Mg. फलं अवहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फर् (ओहरै); Skr. दधि *curds*, Pr. दहिं or दहिँ or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दहीँ, E. H. दही. This induction clearly proves two things. Firstly; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and anunásika in Gd., and finally drops of altogether¹). In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place; namely the Skr. anusvára before स् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before ह्, and in Gd. before both स् and ह्. Secondly, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the anunásika, as मै I for मैँ, होह् lip for होँह्, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the old school in their writing and printing²), is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the *dot* is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The anunásika, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चाँद् *chāḍ* or चंद् *chand*, but not चाद्. It would be well, to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

2. CHAPTER. EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short ऋ ṛ, that ऋ ṛ becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H. C. (4, 411) and T. V. (3, 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); बिन्दोरु अन्ते। पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य बिन्दोरु अपभ्रंशे उच्चारलाघवं भवति प्रायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*.

2) In writing the anunásika commonly appears as two dots (··), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (·).

quiescent *ā* will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *virāma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ *bāgh* tiger (not *bāgha*); बात् *bāt* word; चलत् *chalat* walking; होइब *hoib* we shall be.

Exception. It is always pronounced in the 2nd pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब *hōiba* you shall be (not *hoib*), बाट *bāṭa* you are (not *bāt*).

25. An antepenultimate आ *á* is always made अ *ā* which with a following इ *ĩ* or उ *ũ* optionally, yet generally, combines to ए *ai* and औ *au*. Antepenultimate ई *í*, उ *ú*, ए *e*, ओ *ō* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. euphonic घ् and ब्). Thus रमन्वा *ram'vá* long form of राम् *rám* *Ráma*; गिधन्वा *gidh'vá* of गीध् *gidh* vulture; घोरन्वा *ghor'vá* of घोरा *ghorá* horse; बेटन्वा *beṭ'vá* of बेटा *beṭá* son; मिटन्का *miṭ'ká* of मीटा *miṭá* sweet; नउवा *naũvá* or नौआ *nauá* of नाउ *náu* barber; भइया *bhaïyá* or भैया *bhaiyá* of भाई *bháí* brother; बतिया *batiyá* of बात् *bāt* word; सुतन्लोँ *suṭlō* 1st pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sútab* to sleep; खइबोँ *khaibō* or खैबोँ *khaibō* 1st pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *kháib* to eat; करउतोँ *karaũtō* or करौतोँ *karautō* 1st pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karáib* to cause to do (for करावन्तोँ *karáv'tō*, see § 34); but पीयतोँ (if) *I* drank; छूअलोँ or छूवलोँ *I* touched (see § 65).

Exception. The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मारन्लोँ *már'lō* *I* killed of मारब्, caus. of मरब् to die.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. तइसो for *ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तारिसो, Skr. तादृशः *such*.

26. The short ऐ *ě* and ए *ai* are sometimes reduced to इ *ĩ*, and short ओ *ō* and औ *au* to उ *ũ*; or, more often, all four to अ *ā*. Thus: बेटिया *bēṭiyá* or बिटिया *biṭiyá* daughter; कहे *kahě* or कहि *kahi* having said; गैलेन् *gailēn* or गैलन् *gailan* they went; गैलैँ *gailāĩ* or गैलँ *gailā* they went; लोटिया *lōṭiyá* or लुटिया *luṭiyá* brass vessel; परोसिया *parōsiyá* or परसिया *parasiyá* neighbouring; जनोउ *janōu* or जनउ *janaũ* brahmanical thread; औ *au* or अ *a* and; और *aũr* or अर *ar* and; मुमाखी or मौमाखी *honey-bee*; चवालिस् or चौवालिस् *forty four*, etc.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., वेद्यपा or विद्यपा *pain* (Vr. 1, 34); सप्तिच्छरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः, E. H. सनीच्छर (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सत्तुत्तरस्य *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अनुत्तं or अनुत्तं *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); सुडो *drunk* for Skr. शौषडः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. of what sort, see § 438, 2).

27. A final *anunásika* is often omitted; thus तूँ *tũ* or तू *tú* *you*; तैँ *taĩ* or तै *tai* *thou*; मैँ *maĩ* or मै *mai* *I*; मेँ *mẽ* or मे *me* *in*; नाँहीँ *nāhĩ* or नाँही *nāhí* *not*; जानीँ *jānĩ* or जानी *jānī* *we know*, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, य *y* is inserted after आ *á*, ई *í*; and optionally व *v*, after उ *ú*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither य nor व can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *ĩ* or ई *í*; in this case the *hiatus*, as a rule, remains, though अइ *ai* may and ईइ *ii* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *í* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyáyal* *it was eaten*; जा + ए = जाये *to go*; पी + अब् = पीयब् *píyab* *to drink*; पी + ऐ = पीयै *píyai* *he drinks*; again चूवत् *chúvat* or चूअत् *chúat* *dripping* from चू + अत्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूऐ *chúai* *it drips* from चू + ऐ; रोवत् *rovat* or रोअत् *roút* *weeping* from रो + अत्; रोवै *rovai* or रोऐ *roai* *he weeps* from रो + ऐ; लेवै के *levai ke* or लेऐ के *leai ke* *to take* from ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái* *he shall eat*; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháílá* *we eat*; पी + ईला = पीईला *píílá* *we drink*; चू + ई = चूई *chúí* *it will drip*; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúílá* *we drip*; बोई *boí* *he will sow*, बोईला *boílá* *we sow*; देई *dei* *he will give*, देईला *deílá* *we give*; again खाइबै *khaibai* or खैबै *khaibai* *we shall eat* from खा + इबै; पीबै *píbai* *we shall drink* from पी + इबै; खाइब् *kháib* *we shall eat* from खा + इब्; पीइत् *píit* (if) *we drank* from पी + इत्; चूइबै *chúibai* and चूइब् *chúib* *we shall drip*; बोइबै *boibai* and बोइब् *boib* *we shall sow*; लेइत् *leit* (if) *we took* from ले + इत्.

Exception 1. The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ईई; thus पी + ई = पीई *píí* or पी *pí* *he will drink*; जी + ई = जीई *jíí* or जीई *jíí* *he will live*.

Exception 2. The initial अ of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. खबोँ etc.), of the pres. part. (अत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. अतोँ etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with ओ of the verb हो to become to आ, ए, ओ respectively; thus खा + खबोँ = खाबोँ *khábō I shall eat*; दे + खबोँ = देबोँ *debō I shall give*; हो + खबोँ = होबोँ *hobō I shall be*; खा + अत् = खात् *khāt eating*; दे + अत् = देत् *det giving*; हो + अत् = होत् *hot being*.

SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. र *r* is generally substituted for ॠ *r̥*; thus E. H. तेरै *he breaks* for W. H. तेडे; E. H. जोरै *he joins* for W. H. जोडे; E. H. बारी *garden* for W. H. बागी; E. H. जोर *wife* for W. H. जोड़; E. H. नारी *artery* for W. H. नागी, etc. Sometimes also र्ह *rh* for ॠ *r̥h*; as E. H. बरहै *bārhai he grows* for बाढे (W. H. बढे); E. H. गरहै *gārhai he beats into form* for W. H. गाढे.

30. र *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल *l*; thus E. H. फर *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. गारी *abuse* for W. H. गाली; E. H. चरै *he walks* for W. H. चले; E. H. डरै *he throws* for W. H. डले; E. H. करिया *black* for कलिया, etc.; but never रोग् for लोग् *people*, etc.

Exception. The ल of the suff. अल of the past tense never changes; e. g., गयल् *gone*, not गयर्; पढ़लोँ *I read*, not पढ़रोँ.

31. ल *l* and न *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल for न in लीला *dark blue* or नीला (Skr. नील); and न for ल in नोन् *salt* or लोन् (Skr. लवण, cf. Vr. 1, 7); नंगोट् *waistcloth* or लंगोट् (Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः, Mg. लिंगवट्टे) ¹.

32. ह *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus तेह् कै or ते कै *of whom*; ओह कै or ओ कै *of that*; ऐलह् or ऐल *aila you came*; कर्तह् or कर्त *karata (if) you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as ताँ or तहाँ *there*, काँ or कहाँ *where*, जहाँ or जहाँ *wheresoever*, मे or मेँ or माहीँ *within*; के or (O. H.) काहीँ *towards*; मराठा or मरहठा *a Maráthá*; सगा *full brother* for *सगहा (see § 120); दिवा *day* for *दिवहा (see § 134, note).

1) Not from नंग, Skr. नग्न *naked*, as Bs. I, 248; the original ॠ of लिंग^० is preserved in the ए of B. नेगुटि.

33. A medial *v*, followed by *i* or *ī*, is always elided; and further *i* (but not *ī*) combines with a preceding *ā* (or *ā* by § 25) to *ai*; thus *पाव् + इबो* (= *प + इबो*) = *पैबो* *I shall find*; *आव् + इबे* = *ऐबे* *thou will come*; *बियाव् + इबह्* = *बियैबह्* *you will cause to eat*. But *पाव् + ई* = *पाई* *he will find*; *आव् + ई* = *आई* *we come*; *बियाव् + ईला* = *बियाईला* *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial *y* or *v*, containing a *neutral* vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to *i* and *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding *ā* (or originally *ā* by § 25) to *ai* or *au*. Thus *गवल् + ऐस्* (= *गयल्ऐस्* *gay'lēś*) = *गइलेस्* *gailēs* or *गैलेस्* *gailēs* *thou wentest*; *पिया + अल्यु* (= *पिययल्ऐ* *piyay'lyū*) = *पियइल्यु* *piyail'yū* or *पियैल्यु* *piyail'yū* *I could be drunk*; *कराव् + अतो* (= *करवल्ऐतो* *karav'tō*) = *करउतो* *karaūtō* or *करोतो* *karautō* (if) *I caused to do*; *चराव् + अलेस्* (= *चरवल्ऐलेस्* *charav'lēś*) = *चरउलेस्* *charaūtēs* or *चरोलेस्* *charautēs* *he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities*. There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus *आइरिओ* or *आयरिओ* = Skr. *आचार्यः* (H. C. 1, 73); *केलं* for **कइलं* for *कयलं* = Skr. *कदलम्* (H. C. 1, 167); *बोरं* for **बउरं* for **बवरं* = Skr. *बदरम्* (H. C. 1, 170); *असरइ* for **अउसरइ* for *अवसरइ* = Skr. *अपसरति* (H. C. 1, 172); *वाउरणं* = Skr. *वावरणम्* (H. C. 1, 175); *उसहो* or *वसहो* = Skr. *वृषभः* (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as *जेदि* = **जइदि* = Skr. *जयति*; *होदि* = **हउदि* = Skr. *भवति*, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. *ch* is always pronounced and written *chh*; thus *छोटा* *chhotá* *small* (Skr. *क्षुद्रकः*?); *छतरी* *chhat'ri* a *chhat'ri* (Skr. *क्षत्रियः*); *छमा* *chhamá* *forgiveness* (Skr. *क्षमा* *kshamá*).

37. *jñ* is always pronounced and generally written *gy*; as *ग्यान्* *gyán* *knowledge* (Skr. *ज्ञान* *jñāna*); *आग्या* *ágyá* *command* (Skr. *आज्ञा* *ājñá*).

38. *nh* is always pronounced and generally written *ng* (or *ñgh*); as *संघ* *sañgh* *collection* (Skr. *संहः* *saṃhah*); *संघात्* *sañghát* *collection* (Skr. *संहतः* *saṃhataḥ*); *सिंघ* *siñgh* *lion* (Skr. *सिंहः*); *सिंघासन* *siñghásan* *thron* (Skr. *सिंहासनम्*), etc. (see § 159).

39. 'स् *ms* is always pronounced and written 'स् *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*, cf. §§ 13. 23); as बंस् (or बन्स्) *bans race* (Skr. वंशः *vamṣaḥ*); बंसीधर (or बन्सीधर) *bansidhar a name* (lit. *flute-holder*, Skr. वंशीधरः *vamśidharah*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsá slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *himsá*); हंस् (or हन्स्) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *hamsaḥ*), etc. (see § 159).

Note: It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of ञ and ह्; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

2) IN DERIVATION ¹⁾.

a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. *In limine*, it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvāra* is dropped, and a preceding अ becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुतर *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कबि *poët* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम्; E. H. बन् *forest*, Pr. वपां (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय् *hundred*, Mg. सयं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत् *field*, Pr. खेत्तं (H. C. 2, 17 क्षेत्रं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. बारि *water*, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारि (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारि; E. H. मधु *honey*, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. आ or अ becomes quiescent अ; thus E. H. नीद्र *sleep*, Ap. निद्र (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. णिद्रा (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाह् *arm* (also बाँह्), Ap. बाह (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem.); E. H. बात् *word, event*, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्ता (fem.); E. H. राय् *prince*, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राया (H. C. 3, 136) or राआ (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. 'or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. दीह् or दीठि *sight*, Ap. दिट्ठि (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिट्ठी

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gd. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.

(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.); E. H. बहिन् or बहिनि *sister*, Ap. बहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. बहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. आग् or आगि *fire* (fem.), Pr. आगी (Vr. 5, 18. fem.), Skr. अग्निः (masc.); E. H. आँख or आँखि *eye* (fem.), Ap. अक्खि (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. अक्की (Vr. 4, 20. fem.), Skr. अक्षि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहफै or बिफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. ज्ञान् or ज्ञानि *sage*, Pr. ज्ञानी, Skr. ज्ञानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. उ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. तरू or तरु *tree*, Ap. तरु (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तरू (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तरुः (masc.); E. H. पाँसु *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पण्डुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोह् or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्रवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. सास् or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ऐ or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मग्गि or मग्गे (Mchh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420. masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलंति or कलेंति or कलेन्ते (Mchh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. रखल् or रखिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदि or लक्खिदे (Mchh. 112, 6), Skr. उक्षितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लगि or लगो (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्ने; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahē having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिअ, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities.* The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. उ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. उ or quiescent अ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. उ is still preserved; thus W. H. नर्, O. H. and S. नर् (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नर् (H. C. 4, 362) or णर् (K. I. 9) or Pr. नरो or णरो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कम् (Tr. 33) *work*, Ap. कम्मु, Pr. कम्मो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग्, O. H. माग्, S. माग् *road*, Ap. माग् (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मागो (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. कर्त्, Br. कर्त्तु *doing*, Ap. कर्त्तु,

Sr. करंतो or करेंतो. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. ओ is reduced to Ap. ३, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. I. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and Md. 12, 20 (fol. 49^a) सौ पुंस्यदेदितौ। पुंसि सौ परे अकार एदितौ स्याताम्। i. e., masc. nouns in *ā* have a nom. sing. in *e* or *i*. The form in इ (like that in ३) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ऐ ẽ (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and ३ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in *writing*, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent अ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as वाक् wound, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. घाओ, Skr. घातः.

47. Pr. masc. अए becomes आ; thus E. H. घोरा horse, Mg. घोउए, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला good, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लए, Skr. भद्रकः; E. H. घरा pitcher, Mg. घउए, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities*. The term. अए is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is अओ, and Ap. अउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to ओ or (Br.) औ; thus Br. योगै, भलौ, घजौ; Mw., G., S., N. योगो, भलो, घजो; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. आ, and hence it has got into Urdú and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. योगा, भला, घजा. Again M., B. and O. have आ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have आ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or औ; again Mg. Pr. has अए, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. आ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. अए, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or औ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. अओ. The Ap. Pr. has both अओ and अउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. औ is a contraction of the Ap. अउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भलौ good; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. अओ, by the quiescence of अ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भलो (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. अउ, would be अइ (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ऐ (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तलै talai bottom,

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलओ, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form आ; as Psh. लगिआ *applied*, P. लगिआ, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लगिअइ or लगिदए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. *लगितकः), Ap. लगिअउ, Br. लग्यौ, Sr. लगिअओ, S. लगिओ or लग्यो. The Psh. ऐ *ai*, then, corresponds to Br. औ *au*! being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. अइ *ai* and Ap. (Sr.) अउ *au* respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. आ corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. अए and Sr. अओ respectively, by the quiescence of अ. It appears, then, that the termin. आ is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. ओ. There are, however, some traces of the termin. आ in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिआला as a Mg. by-form of शिआले *jackal* (E. H. सियारू). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in आ, and Md. (12, 21. 22. fol 49^a) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलआ (E. H. चेरा) *oh! disciple*¹). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 शृगालस्य शिआला शिआले शिआलकाः॥ and Md. 12, 21 एदोतौ सम्बोधने प्रायः। पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोतौ स्यातां। हे वमंसे। हे वमंसो। प्रायो ग्रहणात्। हे गोमिका। हे भट्टिदालाआ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā* ends in *e* or *o*, as, *he voamse, he voamso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Md. 12, 22 आदाक्षेपे। पुंसि सम्बुद्धौ अकार आ स्याद् आक्षेपे। अले ले त्वेलआ। चकारात्। त्वेलए। त्वेलओ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā*, in the sense of rebuke, ends in *ā*; also in *e* and *o*. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in आ in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., ठोला मई तुहुँ वारिआ मा कह दीहा माणु; this is Bs. ठोला मैँ तूँ के बारा मत् कह दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again बिट्टीए मई भणिअ तुहुँ मा कह वंकी दिट्ठि, = Bs. बेटी मैँ भनि तूँ के मत् कह वंकी दीह् i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. cf. Ls. 450) gives both आ and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in आ, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in आ; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

sing. in ए is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in आ is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42¹). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gd. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in आ in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भल्ला हुआ जु मारिआ बहिणि महारा कंतु। (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महारउ हलि सहिए निच्छइ रस्सेइ ज़ासु। (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gd., see Introd.) भला हुआ जु मारा बहिन् मोरा काँत्, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. H.) काँत् मेरौ सहेली निहचै रस्से ज़ासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry²).

49. Pr. masc. इए and उए become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. तेली *oilman*, Mg. तेलिए (cf. H. C. 2, 98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली *gardener*, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. बहिनोई (W. H. भौनाई) *sister's husband*, Mg. बहिणिवइए, Skr. भगिनीपतिकः; E. H. नाती *grandchild*, Pr. नत्तिओ (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Pr. *भाइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भातृकः; again E. H. बिछू *scorpion*, Mg. बिंछुए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लड्डू *a kind of sweetmeat*, Mg. लड्डुए, Skr. लड्डुकः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat* (H. H. गेहूँ), Ap. Mg. गोहूँवे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोधुमः.

50. *Affinities*. These contractions into ई and ऊ are common to all Gds.; but in W. and N. Gd. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. H. तेली, Sr. तेलिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाइ, Sr. भामिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. H. बिछू, Skr. बिंछुओ; W. H. लड्डू, Sr. लड्डुओ; W. H. गोहूँ, Sr. गोहुमो. But M. and S. have भाऊ *brother*, Dk. भाउए or भाउओ

and T. V. 3, 4. 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेले, or worn down हे चेला.

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in आ with E. Gd., भला होइआ जो मारिआ बहिन् मेरा काँत्।

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson*, Pr. ननुओ (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb. Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gd. to be cast off altogether (see § 45); thus Mg. तेल्लिए, Ap. *तेल्लिइ, *तेल्लीइ, Gd. तेली, Sr. तेल्लिओ, Ap. तेल्लिउ, *तेलीउ, Gd. तेली; or Mg. लडुए, Ap. *लडुइ, *लडुइ, Gd. लडू, Sr. लडुओ, Ap. लडुउ, *लडुउ, Gd. लडू (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. पवासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2. 48) or पावासू (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2. 10) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासो (or प्रवासकः); Pr. सव्वण्ण *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for *सव्वण्णुओ (= Skr. सर्वज्ञकः); and other words in ण्णू.

51. Pr. fem. इआ and उआ become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare*, Pr. घोडिआ, Skr. घोडिका; E. H. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club*, Pr. लट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 247), Skr. यष्टिका; E. H. मउसी *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृष्वसृका; E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. *माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोहू *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्तवहुआ (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुत्रवधुका; E. H. बालू *sand*, Pr. वालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities*. Here all Gds. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माउ *mother*, Pr. माउआ (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. घोडिआ, Ap. घोडिअ (H. C. 4, 330) or *घोडीअ, Gd. घोडी; Pr. बालुआ, Ap. बालुअ or *बालूअ, Gd. बालू, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अअं, इअं and उअं become आ, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. सोना *gold*, Pr. सोपणाअं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवणाअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. तामा *copper*, Mg. *तम्मअं (see § 18) or तम्बअं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. ताम्रकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron*, Pr. लोहअं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. घी *clarified butter*, Pr. घिअं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. घृतम्; E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds*, Pr. दहिअं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती

pearl, Pr. मेत्तिमं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. अँसू tear, Pr. अंसुमं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अश्रुकम्; E. H. जू yoke, Pr. जुमं, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू potato, Pr. आलुमं, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities.* As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. तामा, P. तँबा. M. has ऐ; as तँबे. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अमं or (becoming masc.) in अए (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अमं or with the favorite euph. य्, अयं, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. ऐ. From the Mg. masc. अए arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is उँ or उ; as तँबुँ or तँबु; in Mw. ओँ or ओ, as तँबोँ or तँबो; in Br. औँ or औ (or also आ); in S. ओ, as टामो. The forms with anunásika are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अउं (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to औँ or औ, and is shortened in G. to उँ. By dropping the final anunásika, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अं sometimes becomes masc. उ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. जलु water for n. जलं, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अउं would become masc. अउ. As regards the forms in ई and उ, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final anunásika (as पाणीँ water, अँसू tear) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original anunásika, treat them as masculines.

b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ becomes इ or ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंजरा cage, A. Mg. पंजलमं (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंजकम् (also पिंजकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. किरकिरू splashing, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् memory, A. Mg.

सुमलपां (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. स्मज्जाम्; E. H. पिचोतरसै *one hundred and five*, A. Mg. पंचुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोन्नज्जतम्; E. H. चिरई *sparrow*, Pr. चडइआ (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिका; E. H. खियावै *he feeds*, Pr. खयावइ, Skr. खाद्यति (*खदापयति); E. H. क्षिन् *moment*, Pr. क्षणो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षणाः; E. H. फिट्कर्को *alum*, Mg. *फट्टिक्कालिआ (or *फिट्टिक्कालिआ cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. एफटिकाजिका; E. H. निनानबे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणावई, Skr. नवनवतिः (see § 397); E. H. क्षियालिस् *forty six* for O. क्षयालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ह्; as E. H. क्षिहन्नर *seventy six*, Mg. क्षहन्नलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षट्सप्ततिः; E. H. क्षिलोतरसै *one hundred and six*, A. Mg. क्षलुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षडुन्नज्जतम्; E. H. लिहल् *taken*, Mg. *लहिदे¹), Skr. लब्धः (*लभितः); E. H. दिहल् *given*, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिस् *thou tookst*, O. H. लिहेस्, Ap. Pr. *लहिअसि, Skr. लब्धोऽसि (*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् *they took*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. *लहिअहिं, Pr. *लहिअन्ति, Skr. लब्धाः सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् *thou gavest*, दिहिन् *they gave*; E. H. किहिस् *thou didst*, O. H. किहेस् for *करेस्, Ap. *करिअसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि²); E. H. किहिन् *they did*. Again ई in तीसो *flax*, Skr. अतर्सा (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिने *he counts*, Pr. गणाइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणायति; W. H. क्षिमा *forgiveness*, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिछ्लौ or पछ्लौ, Ap. Pr. पच्छिल्लुउ (Skr. पश्चकः); but E. H. गनै, 'क्षिमा and पाछिल् or पछिला.

56. अ becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुआल् *straw*, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूछ् (also मेँछ्, see § 57) *mustache*, Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86 or *मंछू? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. खुत्तली *itch*, Ap. Pr. *खल्लुडिअ (Skr. खर्जुः).

Note: W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिआ (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. अङ्गुलिका; O. H. सुगन् *bird* (Chand); Ap. Pr. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; but E. H. अंगुरी, सगुन्.

1) cf. Spt. 146 लहिउपा = Skr. *लभित्वा or लब्ध्वा; and P. past part. लइआ.

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिस्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 807. 501. 503.

57. अ becomes ए, ऐ, ओ or ए, ऐ, ओ; rarely; E. H. मेहर (or मेहरी or मेहरारू) woman, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवारू (or केवारा) door, Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कपाटः; E. H. चोँच् beak, Pr. *चंचू, Skr. चक्षुः; E. H. मोँछ् mustache (see § 56), Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. सेँध् hole (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धिः; and others see § 148.

58. इ becomes अ; rarely; E. H. ऐतना this much, Mg. एत्रिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना so much, Mg. तेत्रिलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना how much soever, Mg. जेत्रिलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केत्रिलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट् waistcloth, Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती earth, Mg. धलित्त्रिआ, Skr. धजित्रिका; E. H. पोरसा fathom, A. Mg. पउलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परखै or परिखै he examines, Mg. पलिकखइ, Skr. पजीक्षते; E. H. °अल् or °इल् suffix of past part., Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पठल् or पठिल् read, Mg. पठिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. °अब् or °इब् suffix of infinit., Ap. इव् (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पठब् or पठिब् to read, Ap. पठिव्, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

Note: Also W. H. गहर deep, Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरस्; W. H. बहर dumb, Pr. बहिरो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् trouble, Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् joy, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् rain, year, Pr. वरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् touch, Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर, बहिर, किलेस्, हरिस्, बरिस्, फरिस्. The Pr. form एत्रिलं or (in some MSS.) एत्रिल्लं is probably a curtailment of एत्रिअलं, composed of एत्रिअ and pleon. suff. ल (or ल्ल), and curtailed just as Ap. इव् from Mh.-Sr. इअव्, e. g., Ap. पठिव् for Sr. पठिअव्.

59. इ or ई becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर or पहरी or पहरा watchman, Mg. पहली, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुंदी or बिंदी or बुंदा or बूँद drop, Pr. बिंटू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. बिन्दुः.

Note: Compare Pr. पवासू (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. प्रवासी sojourner.

60. उ becomes अ; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् own, Pr. अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,

G. आपणो; E. H. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवह्, Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडुगणे (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडुगणाः; E. H. कुटकी *a kind of medicine*, Pr. *कटुकिआ, Skr. कटुकिका; E. H. जथा *troop*, Pr. *जुत्यञ्च, Skr. यूयकम्; E. H. सामहूँ or समहूँ *in front of*, Ap. सम्मुहह्, Skr. सम्मुखे (H. H. साम्हने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. *कुपुत्ते, Skr. कुपुत्रः; also E. H. बूँद or बुँदा *drop*, Mg. विंदुए, Skr. विन्दुकः.

Note: Also W. H. उंगलो *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिआ, Skr. अङ्गुलिका; W. H. बिजली, Pr. विज्जुलिआ (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. विद्युत्; W. H. कूकरू *dog*, Pr. कुक्कुरो, Skr. कुक्कुरः; W. H. ज़ाबिन् *roseappletree*, Pr. जंबुलो, Skr. जम्बुलः; W. H. समके *he understands*, Pr. संबुज्जह्, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण् or कुण् *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. H. अंगुरी, बिजुरी, कुक्कुर, जामुन्, समुकै, कौन्. As regards E. H. आपन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्पणायं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ and ऊ become respectively इ and ई; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् *small*, Pr. तणुक्के, Skr. तनुकः; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनरू; E. H. बाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाऊ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.); बुँदो (fem.) *drop*, Pr. विंदू (masc.), Skr. विन्दुः.

62. उ becomes ए; very rarely; as फेफरा *lungs*, Skr. फुफ्फुसः.

63. ऋ becomes इ; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् *husbandman*, A. Mg. *किसाणे, Skr. कृषाणाः; E. H. गोध् *vulture*, Mg. गिडे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृधः; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइआ (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H. C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भाइए, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. *भत्तिज्जए, Skr. भ्रातृजकः.

Note: None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईणं gen. pl. for Skr. मातृणाम् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives, घिडो and Bh. माइय°; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिओ for कृषितः as an analogy for किसानो; and in 1, 137 नत्तिओ and नत्तुओ for नप्तृकः as an analogy for भाइओ and भाउओ (H. C.

1, 131) = भ्रातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहरं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भन्निजो = भ्रातृजः.

64. ओ becomes ए; very rarely; as गेहूँ or गोहूँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधुमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहूँ.

65. Short vowels become long; very rarely; E. H. ढीला loose, A. Mg. सिढिल्लए (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. शिथिलकः; E. H. पूर or पुर town, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर for Skr. मुसलम्; especially in the verbal roots पी drink, सी sew, चू leak, छू touch, मू die, बो sow, नो bow, भौ roam; e. g., E. H. पीयै, Pr. पिम्रड, Skr. पिवति; E. H. चूऐ, Pr. चुम्रड (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हत्तीण she-elephant for Pr. हत्तिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. आ, ई, ऊ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरी mare for घोरीअ = Pr. घोडिआ, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. Long vowels become short; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार watering place, Pr. पाणिअसाला (or perhaps Ap. *पाणिसाला, eliding अ as in इव् for इअव् see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की watermill, Pr. पाणिअचक्किआ, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फुलवारी flowergarden (for फूलवारी), Pr. *फुल्लावाडिआ, Skr. फुल्लावाटिका; E. H. अधपका half-ripe (for आधपका), Mg. अडपक्कए, Skr. अर्धपक्कः; E. H. नदीया name of a town in Bengal (for नादीया), Mg. नअदीयए, Skr. नवद्वीपकः; E. H. मुमाखी honey-bee (for मौमाखी), Mg. महुमक्खिआ, Skr. मधुमक्षिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया lamp (also दीया and दोवा), Mg. दीयए (or *दियए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पलिविअं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पखान् stone, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पताल् hades, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुरका swoon, Skr. मूर्क्षा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुबरा weak from दूबर, Mg. दुवल्लए, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् all for *साब्, Mg. सब्बे, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. Vowels are nasalized; often optionally before ह् and स्; as E. H. मुँह or मूँह or मुह् mouth, face, Mg. मुहं (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोह or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवहे (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. शपथः; E. H. छाह shade, Pr. छाही (H. C. 1, 249) or छाहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. छाया; E. H. बाह or बाह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. बाह or बाहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem., but बाहुः masc.); E. H. माहै or माही or माही within, Ap. मज्जहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खासी or खासी *cough*, Pr. खासिमा (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कासिका; E. H. हासो or हासी *laughter*, Pr. हासिमा (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घास् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घासे, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाव or पाव् *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Sr. पात्रो, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूमा or कूमा or कूमा or कूमा *well*, Ap. कूवउ or कूवउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. जायु or जायु they go (for जायुहिं), Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जन्ति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

Note: In Ap. Pr., too, व् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. जिव or जेव how (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. ज्यू; Ap. तिव or तेव thus, E. H. त्यू.

β) VOWELS IN CONTACT.

68. The *hiatus* of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of *sandhi*, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an *euphonic* semivowel (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in hiatus. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, when E. H. preserves the hiatus of the Pr., other Gds. make sandhi; thus E. H. कइसन् of *what kind*, but W. H. कैसा, M. कसा, for Ap. Pr. कइसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गइल् he went, but M. गेला, Mg. *गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् eaten, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे.

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally य् or व्, rarely ह्. About the use of य् and व् see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic ह् are probably; E. H. घटिहा or घटिया *inferior*; E. H. छूहै or छूवै or छूरै *he touches*; E. H. दिहल् *given* for दे + अल् (probably by analogy to लिहल् *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. दिहिस् *he gave* for दि + इस्, and किहिस् *he did* for कि + इस् (analogous to लिहिस् *he took*, see § 307); E. H. पहिचान् *cognizance* for पइचान् (Pr. परिचमणां, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. °अनिहार a *suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. अणिममडो (see § 321); E. H. अहा a *pleon. suff.*, Mg. अमए, Skr. *अककः (§ 208); E. H. आहट् or आवट् a *suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अमवट्टो (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic ल्; viz. E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियोतरसो *one hundred and two* (made analogously to तिलोतरसो 103, चलोतरसो 104, हिलोतरसो 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinities.* All three semivowels य्, व् and ह् are already used in this way in Prākṛit. Thus य् is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. Ṣ. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both य् and व् by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About ह् there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words फलिहो, निहसो, चिहुरो, झाहा, etc. (for स्फटिक, निकष, चिकुर, झाया) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409. 411. 415); also in the Saptasāṭaka (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. Gd. *sandhi* is made in two ways; 1) by *contracting* the two vowels, or 2) by *expanding* the second. By *expansion* I mean the change of ए or इ to य *ya*, and of ओ or उ to व *va*. Peculiar Gd. contractions are: अ or आ with इ to ऐ; अ or आ with उ to औ; इ with अ to ऐ or ए or ई or इ; उ with अ to औ or ओ or उ; ए with अ or इ or उ or ए to ए; ओ with अ to ओ. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. *Expansion-sandhi* is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus ए, ऐ, ओ, औ become respectively अय्, आय्, अव्, आव्, and in certain cases इ or ई and उ or ऊ become इय् and उव् (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. रै-अस् = रायः; नौ-अस् =

नावः; धी-अस् = धियः; लू-अस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to व in पवदो or पओदो or पउदो = Skr. प्रकोष्ठ (Vr. 1, 40); आवज्जं for *आओज्जं or आउज्जं = Skr. आतोयम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or उ to व in सोअमल्लं for *सोवमल्लं for *सोउमल्लं = Skr. सौकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुअल्लं for *दुवल्लं or दुउल्लं = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for *उवहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उउहलो = Skr. उट्खलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for *सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to य. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अस् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guna* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as *अग्नयः = अग्नेः; *मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus वेइल्लं for *वयइल्लं for विअइल्लं = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कषेरो for *कषयारो for कषिआरो = Skr. कर्षिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एणिहं for *अयसिं for इआणिं = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एत्तिअं for *अयत्तिअं for *इअत्तिअं = Skr. इयतिकम्; केत्तिअं for *कयत्तिअं for *किअत्तिअं = Skr. कियतिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एदूहं for *अयदूहं for *इअदूहं = Skr. *इयादृशम् (i. e. *इयत् + दृश or ईदृश; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केदूहं for *कयदूहं for *किअदूहं = Skr. *कियादृशम् (or कोदृश) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for *अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for *पवरो for *पूअरो = Skr. पूतरः (H. C. 1, 170); पोप्फलं for *पवप्फलं for *पूअप्फलं = Skr. पूगफलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for *सवणारो for *सुअणारो for सुवणारो = Skr. सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, आउ, as दइओ = Skr. दैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वरम् for स्वरिम्, प्रौढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. अ or आ with अ or आ becomes आ; as E. H. इहाँ here,

Ap. Pr. एहं, Skr. ईदृशे (scl. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहारू yours (W. H. तुम्हारौ), Ap. Mg. *तुम्हअलिऐ or *तुम्हकलिऐ or तुम्हक्केले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् eating, Mg. खाम्ते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सडॉध् (fem.) bad odour, Pr. *सडिअअंधो, Skr. *शदितागन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत name of a caste, Mg. *लाम्अउत्ते, Skr. राजदूतः; E. H. लोहारू blacksmith, Mg. लोहअले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमारू leather-worker, shoemaker, Mg. चम्मअले, Skr. चर्मकाजः; E. H. पर्विवा first day of a lunar fortnight, Mg. पडिवअ (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

Exception. Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्वा Rāma for Mg. लाम्अह, Skr. रामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes य्, as in रैन् or रयन् night, Mg. लअणी, Skr. जतनी.

74. इ or ई with इ or ई becomes ई; as E. H. पी or पीई he will drink, Pr. पिइहिइ, Skr. पास्यति (*पिविष्यति), W. H. पीहै = Pr. *पिइहइ; E. H. पीबो I shall drink, Ap. Pr. पिइवुउं, Pr. पिइअवुमहि, Skr. पातव्य° (*पिवितव्य°), see § 309.

75. उ or ऊ with उ or ऊ becomes ऊ; as E. H. दूना twofold, Mg. दुउणए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकः.

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345) = *अम्हअरिओ or *अम्हकरिओ, Mh. अम्हक्केरो (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अस्माकम् (lit. *अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमारा, E. H. हमारू, W. H. हमारौ (Br.) or म्हारो (Mw.) our; Pr. खाइ or खाम्अइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाय् he eats; Pr. राउलं or राम्अउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउरू, W. H. राउल् a title of honor; Pr. भाणं or भाम्अणं, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) vessel; Pr. सोणार्° (Spt. 194) for सुवस्अर°, Skr. सुवर्णकार°, E. H. सोनारू goldsmith; Pr. कुम्भारो or कुम्भअारो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोहारू, W. H. कुम्हारू potter; Pr. पावालिया for पम्अवालिया (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका guardian of a well; again उम्असो for *उउम्असो for उव्वासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semi-tatsama) fasting, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. अ with इ becomes ऐ, if antepenultimate, but ऐ or अय aya

or *ay*, if *penultimate*, optionally; as E. H. गयल् or गइल् or गैल् *gone*, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307. 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयो, P. गइआ, Ap. Pr. *गमिअउ; E. H. भयल् or भइल् or भैल् *been*, Mg. *भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयो, P. होइआ, Ap. Pr. भविअउ or हविअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै *having done for* कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिअ (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पइठै or पैठै *he enters*, Pr. पइठइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. *प्रविष्टति (see § 352); E. H. खइलो or खैलो *I ate*, Mg. खाइदऽम्हि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गइलो or गैलो *I went*, Mg. गमिदऽम्हि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *such*, Ap. Mg. तइसिल्ले (see § 111), A. Mg. तारिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तादिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

Exception. The termin. ऐ and ऐँ of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are *always* thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै *he walks* (not चलइ or चलय्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. करैँ *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै of (lit. *done by*) = O. H. करि, Ap. *करिउ or *करिओ or केरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in *postpositional* locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला *good*, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लुह, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4); E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ after, G. पाइी, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छहि, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पश्चे; E. H. आगे *before*, Ap. Pr. अगइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. माँइँ or माँहोँ (cf. § 67) *within*, S. मंके, Ap. Pr. मज्जहिं or मज्जहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाहोँ *near, by side of*, Ap. पक्खहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे *with, for, till*, M. लागीँ, Ap. लगहि, Skr. लग्ने.

78. अ with उ becomes औ, if *antepenultimate*, but औ or अव *ava* or अव् *av*, if *penultimate*, optionally; thus E. H. चौय् or चवय् or चउय् *fourth*, Mg. चउत्ये (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौया or चउया *fourth*, Mg. चउत्यए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. औय् or अवय् *the province of Oudh*, also अजुधा (W. H. अजुध्या *semitats.*), Mg. *अयुडा or *अजुडा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा *a honorific title, you* (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलौता or ऐकलउता (or अकँ or ँटा) *only-born son*, Mg. एक्कलउत्तए

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or °दृए (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. जेठौत् or जेठउत् *son of husband's elder brother*, Mg. जेठउत्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्रः.

Exception. The termin. औँ or ओँ of the 1st pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करौँ or करोँ *I do*, Ap. करउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. कर्मि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सउ *hundred* is in E. H. सो beside सौ, सव्, सउ; Skr. शतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes उ; as E. H. पाछ् behind, Ap. Pr. पच्छहुं, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus देव् and दइव् *fate* (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. दैवम्, but E. H. दैव्; Ap. केहो *of what kind* for *कइहो or *कादिहो, Skr. कीदृशः (cf. Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for *कइलं or कयलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरम्, also E. H. केरा *plantain*; again Pr. लोणं for *लउणं or लवणं *salt* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोव्वारो or चउव्वारो *shed, court* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वारः, but E. H. चोव्वार; Pr. चोत्यो or चउत्यो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौय्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for *अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh.-Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why *on the whole* the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to आ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौथा, N. (also Br.) चौथो *fourth*, but G., S., Mw. चोथो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौदा or चौदह् *fourteen*, but Mw., G. चोद (or चौद), S. चोउहँ; again E. H. गैल् *gone*, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् *done*, but M. केला; E. H. भैल् *been*, but M. काला (for *हैला, *ह्माला); E. H. खैलोँ *I ate*, M. खालोँ; E. H. ऐलोँ *I came*, M. आलोँ; E. H. तैसन् *such*, M. तसा. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिं to ईँ is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरौँ *in a house*, Ap. घरहिं (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासौँ *by the side of*, Ap. Pr. पासहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 92),

Skr. पार्श्वे; M. आठी^० for (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. अट्टहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. अर्त्ये; M. ठाई^० in (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. अ with ई or उ becomes ऐ or अय् and ओ or अव् respectively; optionally; as E. H. कनहई or कनहै or कनहय् *kanhai* (krishna); E. H. घड्ड or घडौ or घडव् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह) and घडा, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ with इ or ई and with उ or ऊ remains in hiatus; thus E. H. खाइब् *we shall eat*, Ap. खाइव्वा (scl. ॐह), Pr. खाइम्ब्व्वाःम्हो, Skr. खादितव्याः स्मः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. खाई *he will eat*, Pr. खाहिइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादिस्यति (W. H. खाहै = Pr. *खाहइ); E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइम्मा (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. बाई *wind* (see § 61); E. H. राउरू *you*, Mg. लाउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलः; E. H. नाउ *barber*, Mg. नाविए or एहाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः.

Exception. The suff. उ of the 2nd pr. sg. imper. combines with अ to ओ; as E. H. तौ *go thou*, Ap. ताउ (cf. H. C. 4, 387. Ls. 467), Skr. याहि; E. H. खौ *eat thou*, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद. A final इ or उ optionally becomes य् and व्; as E. H. खाय्^१ or खाइ *having eaten*, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइम्, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ *having gone*, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइम्, Skr. जादित्वा; E. H. जाय्य् or जाइँ *they go*, Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जांति, Skr. यान्ति; again E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घाम्ना, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाव् or पाँव् or पाउ or पाँउ *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राव् or राउ *a title of nobility, prince*, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राजः); E. H. खाव् *I eat*, Ap. खाउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खाम्मि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or उ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten*, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. रावरू or राउरू *you* (see above).

83. इ with अ becomes ए; as E. H. डेरू or डेरू *one and a half*, for *दिमरू, Mg. दिवड़े (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. नियरू or नेरू *near*, Mg. निम्रडं, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. करे or करि *having*

done, Mg. कलिञ्च (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चल्यो, O. H. चलेउ, Ap. *चलिञ्चउं (see § 505), Pr. चलिञ्चग्मिह, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

Exception. The nominal termin. इञ्च contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी water, Pr. पाणिञ्च; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. उ with अ becomes ओ; as E. H. सोढा sweet scent, Mg. सुम्रंधर् (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

Exception. The nominal termin. उञ्च contracts to ऊ; as E. H. आँसू tear, Pr. अंसुञ्च; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेइ he takes for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल्); Mg. ओत्काए (cf. H. C. 1, 173) magician for *उम्रत्काए or उवत्काए, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका; Mg. होते for *हुम्रंते or हुवंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ or उ with आ become इया and उवा; optionally; the insertion of य् is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिआ heart, Pr. हिम्रञ्च, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाइ marriage. Mg. विम्राहे, Skr. विवाहः; E. H. पियास् thirst, Pr. पिम्रासा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवासा (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिपासा; E. H. पुम्राल् or (rarely) पुवाल्ल straw, Pr. *पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोरिया or (rarely) घोरिआ mare; जोरुआ or (less usually) जोरुवा wife, see §§ 195. 199.

Exception. In the nominal short forms, इआ and उआ are always contracted to ई and ऊ respectively; see § 51.

87. इ with उ or ऊ becomes इयु and इयू; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु Siva, Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिम्रो, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिउ or पियू sweetheart, Ap. पिम्रउ, Pr. पिम्रम्रो, Skr. प्रियकः.

88. उ with इ or ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. सुइया needle, Pr. सूइआ, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई parrot, Pr. सुइआ, Skr. शुक्रिका.

89. इ or उ with ए or ओ; see § 98.

90. ई or ऊ with अ; see § 97.

91. ई with any other vowel inserts य्; as E. H. धीया daughter,

Pr. धीष्ठा (Vr. 4, 33), Skr. धीदा or दुहिता; E. H. सोया *Sitá*, Pr. सोम्ना, Skr. सीता (semitats.); E. H. पीयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिव, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीयै *he drinks*, Pr. पिमिइ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिबति; E. H. पीयो or पीयो *I drink*, Ap. पिमिउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिमिमि, Skr. पिबामि.

92. उ with आ, इ and ई remains in *hiatus*; as E. H. धूम्रा *smoke*, Ap. धूवउं (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूमम्रो, Skr. धूमः; E. H. चूड़है *they will leak*, Ap. चुइहहिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुइहंति, Skr. श्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूई *earth*, Ap. भूविंम्रा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिम्रा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूई *needle*, Pr. सूइम्रा, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ with ए, ऐ, ओ and औ becomes उवे, उवै, उवो, उवौ; optionally; the *hiatus* is more usual; as E. H. चूए or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूए or चूवै), Pr. चुमिइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतिष्यति; E. H. चूओ or चूवौ or चूवो or चूवौ *I leak*, Ap. चुमिउं, Pr. चुमिमि, Skr. श्रोतामि.

94. ए or ओ with अ, इ and उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए or ओ with a long vowel remain in *hiatus*; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेई *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिइ, Skr. लप्स्यते (*लभिष्यति); E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोऐ or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. ववइ, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोओ or बोवौ or बोवो or बोवौ *I sow*, Ap. ववउं, Pr. ववमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ or औ with any vowel insert य् and व्; optionally; the insertion of य् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन् or भइयन् कै (see § 77) of brothers, Pr. भाइम्राण, Skr. भ्रातृकाणाम्; E. H. भैया or भइया brother, Mg. भाइम्राह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौमन् or नउमन् कै (see § 78) of barbers, Pr. नाविम्राण, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौम्रा or नौवा or नउम्रा or नउवा barber, Mg. नाविम्राह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नौई *he will bow*, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौओ *I bow*, Ap. नवउं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौऐ or नौवै *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवन्ति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. अ before or after a long vowel is often elided; before; E. H. सुम्रा *cook*, A. Mg. सूम्राले, Skr. सूपकाः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लएल्लं, Skr. फुल्लतैलम्; after; E. H. सीरू or सीयरू *cold, damp*, Pr. सीयलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पीरू or

पीयू yellow, Pr. पीयलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. सूर or सूअर hog, A. Mg. सूअले, Skr. शूकरः; E. H. थोरू or थोरा little (W. H. थोडा), Pr. थोअउं or थोअउअं (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकम् or स्तोककम्. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयत् drinking, Mg. पिअंते, Skr. पिबन्; E. H. बोअत् sowing, Mg. वअंते, Skr. ववन्.

Note: पीयत्, बोअत्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor होत् being, देत् giving, लेत् taking, for these are not contractions of हो-अत्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुअंते, लहंते, देअंते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ or ए and उ or ओ after a vowel often become य ya or य् y and व va or व् v respectively; thus E. H. गयल् or गइल् gone (see § 77); E. H. धय् having put for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् or खाइल् eaten (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय् having found for पाइ, Ap. पावि, Pr. पाविअ, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय् having leaked for चूइ or चूऐ, Pr. चुइअ, Skr. श्रुत्वा; E. H. होय् he is, Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H. होय् having been for होइ or होऐ, Pr. हविअ (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. भूत्वा; E. H. कोयूर or कोइर cuckoo (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियूर cocoanut (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएले, Skr. नाजिकेलः; O. H. आयसु order (in Tulsídás), Ap. आएसु, Pr. आएसो, Skr. आदेशः; E. H. चवय् or चउय् fourth (see § 78); E. H. घाव् or घाउ wound (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँव् I go, Ap. जाउं, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

Exception. The suff. इ of 3^d pers. and उ of 2nd pr. sg. pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus ले he takes, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे he gives, Pr. देइ (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे take thou, Ap. देउ, Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए and उए (or Sr. इओ, उओ) are contracted to ई and उ; see § 49; the expansion of final ए (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the preceding इ and उ; and the resultant अ after ई and उ, would drop off, by § 97; e. g., तेल्लिए, तेल्लिय or तेल्लीअ, तेली oilman.

γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सगल् *whole*, A. Mg. सगले, Skr. सकलः; E. H. पर्विा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिविआ, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. राजा *king*, Skr. राजा, or in the semitats. E. H. क्रिपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 143) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पाती *letter*, Pr. पडिआ, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माया *head*, Mg. मत्यए, Skr. मस्तकः, or in the semitats. E. H. प्रियो, Skr. पृथो; E. H. अजुधा, Skr. अयोध्या; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत् *devoted*, Ap. *भक्तु, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्तः. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for some doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbh. *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds:- 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (ऌ or ॡ or ल् and ॠ or ॡ or ल्ह) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ह्), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. य् and व्) and the nasal (म्) may be vocalized (इ and उ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. व्, ल्, र्, ह्) and nasals (viz. म् and न्) and occasionally double consonants (viz. क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ्, च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ञ्, ट्, ठ्, ड्, ढ्, ण्) may be elided, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-

vowels (viz. ॠ and ॡ) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, etc.

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.*, Skr. कर्पटकः *cloths*, Mg. कपउए, E. H. कपरा; Skr. कथितः *said*, Mg. कधिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.*, Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवडुम्रा (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौरी, W. H. कौड़ी. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials (प or ब) are softened to व (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H., व is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. शपथः *oath*, A. Mg. सवधे or सवहे, E. H. सोह (for सउह); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals (क , ग) and palatals (च , ज) is substituted the euphonic य (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H., य is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. नगजम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैरू; Skr. जज्ञनी *night*, Mg. लयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुतुभ *you make*, Mg. कलेध or कलेह, E. H. कर्ह; Skr. पत्ते, Ap. पकबहिं, E. H. पाही (for पाखी). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3) in Pr., य and व are sometimes *vocalized* (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also म (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and य and व only are elided (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H. extends the practice occasionally to र , ल , ह , म , न , though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mb.-Sr., initial य is always hardened to य ; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial य and य (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; e. g., Skr. कार्यम्, E. H. कार्त्त; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पर्वत्त. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change द to द , but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve द or change it to द , but not to द .

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally, क् and ग were usually elided; exceptionally क् was changed to ग (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396); च and ज were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177); ट and ड were never elided, but ट softened to ड (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) त and द were not elided, but त softened to द (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) द must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavatī, indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally, य and य are softened to य (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally, ल and व were, as a rule, reduced to ल (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396); ह and क् were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and ह was always changed to ह , but ह left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally H. C. 1, 187) य was changed to य , and य optionally reduced to ह (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally, क् was always changed to य , and य optionally reduced to ह (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of unaspirates: exceptionally ग्; regularly ङ्; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words ढ्; regularly ब्. Of aspirates: exceptionally ख्; regularly छ्, क् and ढ्; optionally ध् and भ्. The unaspirates च् and ञ् are never present; in words like E. H. पचै *it rots*, बजै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्, ञ्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् becomes ग्; rarely; 1) original; thus E. H. काग्न *crow*, Ap. कागु, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. काए, or कौवा (for *कववा), Mg. काअए); E. H. साग्न *vegetable*, Ap. सागं, Skr. शाकम्; E. H. सग्न *cart* (W. H. सगड्), A. Mg. सगडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. शकटम्; E. H. सग्न *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सगुन् *bird*, Ap. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; E. H. ऐग्यार्ह *eleven*, Ap. *एग्यार्ह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) resultant; thus E. H. बिगत् or बेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगताई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्ता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चक्र *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. बकरी *she-goat*, Ap. बक्रिया, Skr. बक्रिका.

Note: Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. एगो, Skr. एकः, Pr. आगारो, Skr. आकारः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gd., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gd.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् becomes ड् or ढ्; very rarely; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for *निवाटै, Pr. निव्वट्टइ or निव्वट्टेइ, Skr. निर्वर्तयति; E. H. पेड् or पेर् *tree* for *पेट् (see § 148), Pr. पट्टो, Skr. पत्रो (?).

104. ड् becomes ड् or ढ्; as a rule; ढ् is more usual; 1) original; thus E. H. कपरा or कपडा *cloths*, Mg. कप्पडए, Skr. कर्पटकः; E. H. केवारा or केवाडा *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाडए, Skr. कपाटकः;

E. H. धरै or धरै *he fashions*, Pr. धड्ड (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. धटयति;
 E. H. चिरई *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चडइआ, Skr. चटकिका, H. H. चिडिया;
 E. H. तोरै or तोरै *he breaks*, Pr. तोड्ड or तोडेड्ड, Skr. त्रोटयति; E. H.
 नरू or नरू *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः;
 E. H. परै or परै *he falls*, Pr. पड्ड (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H.
 परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवआ (Vr. 4, 7), Skr.
 प्रतिपत्; E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or
 पडिवेसे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेशः; E. H. पापरू or पापडू *cake*, Mg.
 पपडे, Skr. पर्पटः; E. H. वारी or वाडो *garden*, Pr. वाडिआ, Skr.
 वाटिका; E. H. भरू or भडू *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195),
 Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लडिका *boy*, Mg. *लडिक्कए from Skr.
 लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लडका; E. H. लरै or लडै *he*
quarrels (makes uproar), Mg. लड्ड, Skr. जटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H.
 सरै or सडै *it rots*, Pr. सड्ड (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. शटति; generally in
 the E. H. *pleonastic suffixes* डू or रू, डा or रा, आडू or आरू, आडा
 or आरा, Ap. Mg. डे, डए, अडडे, अडडए (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus
 E. H. गोरू or गोडू *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमडो,
 Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. थोरू or थोडू *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg.
 थोडडे, Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. ठेकरा or ठेकडा *small piece*, Ap. Mg.
 *ठेक्कुडए (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. चमरा or चमडा *leather*,
 Ap. Mg. चम्मडमं, Skr. चर्म; E. H. बडरू or बडडू *calf*, Ap. वच्छडड,
 Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकडा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयक्कुडमं, Skr.
 शतकम्; E. H. नेठरा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. नेट्टडए, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पड्वारू
 or पड्वारू or °वारू *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छिवमडे or °वमडए or
 पच्छिममडे or °ममडए, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पड्वारी or पड्वारी (scl. रस्सी)
hind-rope (for tying horses' hind-legs), Ap. पच्छमडिआ, Skr. पश्चक°;
 E. H. अगारी or अगारी *fore-rope*, Ap. अगमडिआ, Skr. अग्रक°, etc. —
 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरी or कौडी *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिआ (H. C.
 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. डू becomes लू; *only original*; very rarely; thus the
 E. H. *pleonastic suffix* लू or ला, Ap. Mg. डे or डए (cf. H. C. 4, 429),
 e. g., E. H. परलू or °लू *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or °डए, Skr. पजः;
 E. H. मोटलू *fat*, Ap. Mg. *मोट्टडे or *मुट्टडे, Skr. मूर्त्तः; E. H. मउली
mother, Ap. Mg. *माडडिआ, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as

E. H. क्लितोत्तरसै or °सो, Ap. Mg. *कृदुत्तरसयं or *कृलुत्तरसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. *कृदुत्तरसउ, Skr. षडुत्तरशतम्.

Note: This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश sixteen, A. Mg. सोलस (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोरह् or सोलह्; Skr. तडाकः tank, Ap. तलाउ (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तराउ or तराव् or तलाव्; Skr. नडम् a kind of reed, Pr. नडं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नर् or नल् or नड्; Skr. नाडिका stalk, Pr. नाडिआ or नालिआ (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नागे.

106. ड् becomes न्; only original; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन् that (lit. of that kind), Ap. तेवडु (H. C. 4, 407) or *तेवडो, Pr. तेदूहो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जौन् which (lit. of which kind), Ap. जेवडु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. जेदूहो, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कवन् or कउन् or कौन् who (lit. of what kind), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवडु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवन्निव° (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केदूहो, Skr. कीदृशः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. युयडा or युयना mouth (of a horse, etc.) from योय् mouth.

107. त् becomes ड् or र्; very rarely; always resultant; as E. H. सरसठि or सडसठि or सतसठि sixty seven, Pr. सत्रसट्टी (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तषष्टिः.

108. दू becomes र्; very rarely; always original; thus गगरी waterpot, Pr. गगरिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गद्दिका; E. H. सत्रर् seventy, Pr. सत्ररी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for *सत्रदो, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. °रह् ten, Pr. °रह (Vr. 2, 14) or °रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दश; e. g., E. H. चारह twelve, Pr. चारह (H. C. 1, 219) or बारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

Note: This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. दू becomes ल्; only original; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or अल्, Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गैल् or गयल् gone (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भैल् or भयल् been (see § 77); E. H. धइल् or धैल् or धयल् put, Mg. धलिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or कैल् or कयल् *done*, Mg. *कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविम्र), Skr. प्राप्ः; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, Mg. आविदे, Skr. आप्ः; E. H. पठल् or पठिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चर्ल् or चर्िल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. *सदं, Skr. शतम्.

Note: This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलम्रं (Sak. 37, 13) for *कलिम्रं, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. ईलिशे for *ईदिशे, Skr. ईदृशः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीपम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलितं (H. C. 1, 212) for *पलिदं, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. अलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for *अदसी, Skr. अतसी, E. H. अलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् becomes र्; as a rule; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. राय् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. राजा, etc.

Exceptions. E. H. लेजुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. *लंजुडिआ, Skr. जञ्जु; E. H. लरै or लडै *he quarrels* (S. रडे), Mg. लडइ, Skr. जटति (cf. लटति or लडति); but E. H. रारि or राडि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडी, Skr. गटिः; E. H. डालै or डारै *he throws*, Mg. *डालेइ or डालेइ, Skr. दाजयति (also दालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवलैइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमजयति (?); E. H. गलियावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोतरसै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुतरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुहत्तरशतम्; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चत्तलीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. डाला *branch*, Mg. डालम्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाजकम्.

111. ल् becomes न्; sometimes; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. ल्ले or ल्लए; e. g., E. H. जामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. *जम्मुल्ले (see § 18) or जम्बुल्ले, Skr. जम्बूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. एत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. एत्तुलए (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. इयतिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेत्रिलए or तेतुलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *as many*, Mg. जेत्रिलए or जेतुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केत्रिलए or केतुलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or अपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अप्पुल्लं or अप्पुल्लम् (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् or °यकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or *अइसुल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिल्ले or *तइसुल्ले, Skr. तादृशः; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. *जइसिल्ले or *जइसुल्ले, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइसिल्ले or *कइसुल्ले, Skr. कोदृशः, see also § 31.

Note: There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पांगलं or लंगलं, Skr. लङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. ण् becomes न्; as a rule; see § 13; thus E. H. पानी (or *theth* पाणी) *water*, Mg. पाणिम् (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ह् becomes र्ह्; very rarely; only resultant; thus E. H. कोर्ह् *leprosy* for *कोर्ह्, Pr. कुट्ठं (or कोट्ठं cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोट्ठं?), Skr. कुष्टम्; E. H. रत्तर्ह् *angry*, Mg. लुट्ठं (or लुट्ठं?), Skr. जुष्टः; E. H. अठ्ठत्तिस् *thirty eight*, Mg. अट्ठत्तीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

Note: This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ट्ठ has a tendency to change to ट्ठ् in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ह् becomes र्ह् or ह्र्; as a rule; र्ह् is more usual; thus 1) original; E. H. कमठा or कोठा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मठा or मर्हा *shed*, Mg. मठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मठो *small temple*, Pr. मठिआ, Skr. मठिका; E. H. पठै *he reads*, Pr. पठइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. पोठा *stool*, Mg. पोठए, Skr. पोठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काठै or काह्रै *he draws*, Pr. कट्ठइ (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. *कृष्टयति); E. H. चठै *he encloses*, Pr. वेट्ठइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेट्ठइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टे or वेष्टयति; E. H. वठै *he grows*, Pr. वट्ठइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धते; E. H. बठई or बह्रई or बरहइ (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. वट्ठइए, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. बूठा *old man*, Mg. बुट्ठए (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बूठो *old women*, Pr. बुट्ठिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढिका; E. H. डेठ्ठ or देठ्ठ *one and a half*, Mg. दिवट्ठे (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः

(see § 416); E. H. अर्धार्ध *two and one half*, Pr. अर्धार्ध, Skr. अर्धतृतीया (see § 416); E. H. सार्धे *one half more*, Pr. सार्धे, Skr. सार्धे.

115. ह् becomes ल्ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. कुल्हारा *axe*, Mg. कुढालए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कुठाजकः; E. H. कुल्हारी *small axe*, Mg. कुढालिआ, Skr. कुठाजिका; E. H. कोल्हू *mill* (for *making sugar or oil*), Mg. कुढले, Skr. कुठजः (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom*, दुल्ही or दुल्हिन् *bride* (spelled H. H. दुल्हा, दुल्हिन् see § 6, note) are Mg. दुल्हए, दुल्हिआ (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. दुर्लभकः, दुर्लभिका (lit. *difficult to obtain, dear*), not Skr. उद्गोढा, उद्गोढा (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. निकालै is Pr. निक्कालइ or निक्कालेइ, Skr. निष्कालयति (of R. कल्; perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. निक्कडइ, Skr. निष्कर्षति (as Bs. I, 354). As to कोल्हू, the Mg. कुढले might be कुढुले in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. कुढुल् *axe* for Mg. कुढाले, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding ल्) कुढुए, कुढु or कोल्हू (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. कुठारः, Mg. कुढालू *tree* (*post?*), which might also produce कोल्हू. An instance of this change in Pr. is अंकोल्लु for *अंकोल्हू (H. C. 1, 200; cf. पल्लडइ and पल्लह्यइ H. C. 4, 200), Skr. अङ्गोठ.

bb) Reduction.

116. ल् and घ् become ह्; generally when original; as E. H. मुह् or मुँह *mouth*, Pr. मुहं (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह् or मेँह *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. मेघः, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. पौहर् *father's family*, Pr. पिउहरं (H. C. 1, 134) for *पिउघरं, Skr. पितृगृहम्; E. H. नैहर् *wife's mother's family*; E. H. देहर् *idol temple*, Pr. *देअघरं, Skr. देवगृहम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. रहै *he lasts, stays* for *रखै, Mg. लकखइ, Skr. उच्यते (pass.); E. H. पाही by the side of for *पाखी, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. कहूँ or काहूँ *by the side of* for *कखूँ or *काखूँ, Ap. *ककखहुं, Skr. कक्षे (cf. § 378, 3).

Exceptions. Sometimes ल् remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. लिखल् *written*, not *लिहल्, Mg. लिहिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 187 लिहइ), to distinguish from E. H. लिहल् *taken* for *लहल्, Mg. लहिदे; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.

सुख् *pleasure* (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख् *pain*, Pr. दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखी *friend*, etc.

Note: The change of original ख् and घ् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187); there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and घ्; as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्खिणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् *right*, but दखिन् or दक्खिन् *south*; Pr. दुहं or दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख् *pain*; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दीर्घः *long*, E. H. *deest*.

117. क् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only resultant; E. H. माँही^० or माही^० *amidst* for *माकी^०, Ap. Pr. मज्झहिं, Skr. मध्ये.

Note: Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant घ् = ङ्, as in Pr. छाहा for Skr. छाया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. ढ् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. *पढइल्ले, Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहारू or पहाड् *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. *पढिअअडे, Skr. प्रथितकः (lit. *spread out*); E. H. पहारा or पहाडा *the multiplication table*, Ap. Mg. *पढिअअउए, Skr. पथितकः (with pleon. उक, see § 217); the इ is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पढा *read*, Mg. पढिअए, W. H. पढ्यौ, Ap. पढिअउ.

Note: The root पृथ् or प्रथ् shows this change in Pr. already; e. g., Pr. पुढवी or पुहवी or पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथिवी or पृथ्वी *earth*, O. H. पुहुमि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिधं or पुधं (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहुलं, Skr. पृथुलम् *full* (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पध^०. The only other instances of the change of ढ् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहडो or पिढरो, Skr. पिठरः *pot* (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो *axe*, Pr. कुढारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. I, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहावणो or कहावणो (H. C. 2, 71) for *कड्ढावणो, Skr. कार्षापणः or कर्षापणः; cf. Pr. कड्डइ = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल्^०, S. पेहेरो^०, see § 401.

119. ध् becomes ह्; *always* when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहेदि or कधेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साह् *a title of merchants*, Pr. साहू (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बहिरु *deaf*, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिः; E. H. दही *curds*, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोह *lizard*, *aligator*, Pr. गोही, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat*, see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कँहार or कँहार *porter*, Mg. कंधआले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or *कंधआले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. स्कंधकाः.

120. भू becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहै *he strings*, Pr. गुहइ or गुभइ (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरी *a kind of fish*, A. Mg. सहलिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. शफटिका; E. H. सोहै *it looks well*, Pr. सोहइ (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. शोभते; E. H. गहिर *deep*, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीः; E. H. अहीर *herdsman*, Mg. आहीले, Skr. आभीः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुत्ताहल् *pearl*, Pr. मुत्ताहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for *मुत्ताभलं, Skr. मुक्ताफलम्; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, Mg. *कंटअहले, Skr. कण्टकफलः; E. H. सुहाग *good fortune*, Pr. सुहगं (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुँहार or कोँहार *potter*, Mg. कुम्भाले or कुम्भआले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकाः; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, Mg. सम्भालेइ, Skr. सम्भाजयति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for *सगहा or *सगभा, Mg. सगभए, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. जीह् or जीभ् *tongue*, Pr. जीहा or जिब्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा.

Note: Words with original भू are tats. or semitats., as E. H. सुभाव् or सुभाउ *disposition*, Skr. सुभावः, Pr. सहावो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. यू becomes इ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) य ya to इ, as E. H. बिगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्त्तः (semitats.); 2) अय aya to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or से *hundred*, A. Mg. सयं, Skr. शतम्; E. H. समै or समे *time*, A. Mg. समये, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising*, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नैर or नेर *town*, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नगजम्; E. H. नैन् or नेन् *eye*, Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night*, Mg. लयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. जज्ञनी; E. H. पैँता *foot of a bed*, Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय iya to ए, as E. H. पछैँत् *backyard*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छियंते or पच्छिमंते, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. *व्* becomes *उ* and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) *व* *va* to *उ*, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) *वि* *vi* to *उ*, as E. H. नौई *he will bow* for *नउई, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. हौवो or हौओ *I am* for *हउओ, Ap. हविमउं, Pr. हविम म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौआ or नउआ *barber*, see § 96; E. H. जनउ or *जनोउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *जनोअविमं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) *अव* *ava* optionally to *ओ*; as E. H. और or अउर *and*, Mg. अवलं, Skr. अपजम्; E. H. कौन् or कउन् or कवन् *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवत्तिआ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. भौँरा *humble-bee*, Ap. भवँरउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरकः; E. H. पठौतो or पठउतो *if I send*, Ap. *पठुवंतउं, Pr. पठुवंतऽम्हि or पठुवंतऽम्हि (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्स्मि; sometimes to *ओ*; as E. H. सोँह *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोँठा *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to *उ*; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवँलइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमज्यति; 4) *इव* *iva* to *ओ*; as E. H. बहिनोई, see § 49; or to *उ*, as E. H. पछून् *back-yard*, Ap. पच्छिवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगूआ or अगुआ *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. *अगिगवँअए, Skr. अग्रिमगकः; 5) *इव* or *इवे* to *ओ*; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पलिवेसइ, Skr. पजिवेषयति; 6) *आव* *áva* optionally to *ओ*; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावँतु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

Note: It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. *प्* is in Pr. *व्* (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. *उ*; and Skr. *म्* in Ap. Pr. *म्* or *वँ* (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. *उँ* or *उ*. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*; Pr. ओझकाओ or उवझकाओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका *magician*; Ap. पठउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for *पठविँ, Pr. पठमि or पठामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पठौ or पठो *I read*, see § 497, 2.

dd) Elision.

123. *व्* before इ (or ई) is elided; as a rule (cf. § 33); only original; thus E. H. ऐकइस् *twenty one* (W. H. एकीस्), A. Mg. एकवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् *twenty two*, A. Mg. बावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् *twenty three*, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचीस् *twenty five* for *पचइस्, A. Mg. *पंचवीसं or ०सा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइस् *twenty seven*, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् *twenty eight*, A. Mg. अट्टावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. ओनइस् *nineteen* (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. उणावीसा or एकूणावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. ऊनविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् *been*, पाइल् *found*, आइल् *come*, see § 109; E. H. पठइबोँ or पठैबोँ *I shall send*, Ap. *पठुविबुडं or *पठुविबुडं, Pr. पठुविबुडमिह, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई *he shall send*, Pr. पठुविहिड, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठइलोँ or पठैलोँ *I have sent*, Mg. पठुविदमिह, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant *व्*, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

Exception. A few exceptions, see § 122.

Note: In the numerals all Gds. elide *व्*, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीष् (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस्, G. बावीष्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. त्रेवीष्, S. ट्रेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीष्, S. पंजवीह or पंजीह, etc.

124. *रू* (= Mg. ल्) before इ is elided; sometimes; only original; thus E. H. कय् *having done* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. कलिअ (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धय् *having placed* for *धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धलिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै *suffix of genitive* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. *कलिअ or *कलिए, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पै *upon*, Ap. Mg. पलि, Mg. पले, Skr. पजे; E. H. पै *however*, Mg. पलि or पले, Skr. पजम्; E. H. धइल् *placed* and कइल् *done*, see § 109; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *such* (see § 111), Ap. Mg. *अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एलिसं or Mh. एरिसं (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृशं; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केलिसं or Mh. केरिसं (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृशं;

E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of this kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिल्ले, A. Mg. तालिस^० or तारिस^० (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृश^०; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind*, Ap. Mg. जइसिल्ले, A. Mg. जालिस^० or जारिस^० (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. यादृशः; E. H. ता *like*, A. Mg. सलिअए or सरिअए, Skr. सदृशकः (see § 292).

Note: Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल् before इ in बइल्लो *bull* (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. बलिवर्दः.

125. ल् after उ is elided; rarely; only original; thus E. H. पुआल् *straw*, Pr. *पुलाली, Skr. पलाली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल् or पावाल् = Pr. पाअवाली, Skr. पादपाली *litter, bed of straw*; E. H. के^०चुवा or के^०चन्वा *earth-worm*, Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115.

126. ह् before or after इ is elided; sometimes; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. ई (for *इई), Pr. इही or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसो or हसो (§ 67) *he will laugh*, Pr. हसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. ऐ^० (for *अई) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pr. अहिं, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करै^० *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसै^० or हसै^० *they laugh*, Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐ^० or ऐ^० or ई^० suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए; e. g., E. H. पाइै^० or पाइै^० *behind*, Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पश्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अस्य; e. g., E. H. मीठे *sweet*, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिठहे, Skr. मिष्टस्य; E. H. ई^० suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. आमः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसो^० *we laugh*, Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. ले^० *they take*, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for *लिहंति or लहंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. बिफै or बिहफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (करू) *of me*, Ap. Pr. महु (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

Note: In W. H., औ or ओ suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

अहु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. अथः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगो or माँगो *you ask*, Ap. मगहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गयथः; also W. Gd. औ or ओ or औ or ऐ suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. अहुं or अहं or अहिं, Skr. आनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरौ, H. H. नरो, S. नरौ or नरे *men*, Ap. पारहुं or पारहं or पारहिं, Skr. नराणाम्; S. उँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. अहुं (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. अमु (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. आमः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हलू *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलहुं, Pr. चलमु, Skr. चलामः. About the elision of ह in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिआहँ (H. C. 4, 300) for *सरिहाहँ, Skr. सदृशोणाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म् before इ and before or after उ is optionally elided; often; generally with anupásika; thus E. H. गोसाईँ or गोसामी *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साईँ or सामी *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुअँर or कुअर or कुवर *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवँर or कुमर (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुअँरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवँरिआ or कुमारिआ, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूईँ or भूमो, Pr. भूमिआ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूअँ or धूवाँ *smoke*, Ap. धूवँउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोईँ or कोईँ *waterlily or jackfruit*, Pr. कुमुइआ (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोहँ or सोहीँ *in front of*, Ap. Pr. समुहहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or संमुहहिं (see § 126), Pr. संमुहमि, Skr. सम्मुखे; E. H. रँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमे, Skr. जेम; E. H. रोअँ or रोवँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमअं, Skr. जेमकम्. Rarely without anupásika; as E. H. गइल् or गैल् *gone*, see § 77.

Note: Four instances of the elision of म् before उ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. तउँणा, Skr. यमुना *Jamná*; Pr. चाउँडा, Skr. चामुपडा *Durga*; Pr. काउँओ, Skr. कामुकः *a certain plant*; Pr. अणित्तयं, Skr. अतिमुक्तकम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. तमुना, not tadbh. *तौन्; perhaps to distinguish from तौन् *foreigner*, Pr. तवणो, Skr. यवनः, as in E. H. तौनपुर *Jaunpur*, Skr. यवनपुरम्. In Pr. म् before इ might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.

128. *न्* before or after *इ* or before *उ*; with or without *anu-nāsika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाउँ or ठाउ or ठाव् or ठाव् place, residence, Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. थौ from for *थाइ (N. थाजि), Ap. थाणि, Pr. थाणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also ते, तई, ताई; E. H. बाँसुरी flute, Pr. वंसपालिआ, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct ग्य for O. H. गिन, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

Note: E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठाव्, ठाउँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठामु, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. *य्* and *व्* become *ज्ञ* and *ब्*; only resultant; thus E. H. कार्त्त work, Pr. *कार्त्ति (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.); E. H. अचार्त्त teacher, A. Mg. *आचार्त्ति, Skr. आचार्यः (or semitats.); E. H. अचर्त्त wonderful, Pr. अच्च्त्ति (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चवबिस् twenty four, Pr. चउव्वीसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. ढ्बिस् or ढ्बिस् twenty six, A. Mg. ढ्वीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्विंशतिः; E. H. परबत् mountain, Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् eastern, Pr. पुरुव्वं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. *घ्* or *ह्* become *ग्* or *ङ्* or *रु*; in E. H. घडै or गडै he fashions, Pr. घडइ or गडइ (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगरै or बिगडै it is spoilt, destroyed, Pr. बिगडइ or बिघडइ, Skr. विघटते; also *भ्* or *फ्* becomes *ब्* or *प्*; as E. H. पर्सै he touches, Pr. फरिसइ (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. अबर्क् talc, Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. *क्* or *ग्*, *ट्*, *प्* and *ब्* become optionally *घ्*, *ह्*, *फ्* and *भ्* respectively; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् manifest (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौटा firstborn, Mg. *पढमिल्लउट्टए (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. फुन् or पुन् again, Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनरु; E. H. सब् or सभ् all, Mg. सब्बे, Skr. सर्वः.

Note: In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एवत्तर seventy one for एक-हत्तर; E. H. पक्त्तर seventy five for पच-हत्तर; E. H. सप्तत्तर seventy seven for सत-हत्तर; E. H. अठत्तर seventy eight for अठ-हत्तर.

132: *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अबरख् or अबरक् *talc*, Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitats.); E. H. हमार or हमरा *our* (H. H. हमारा), Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. फम्मा *father's sister* for *पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्चा or पिउसिम्मा (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृषसा; also E. H. फुफी; E. H. फुप् *flower*, Pr. पुष्कं (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उखारै or उखाउँ *he plucks up* for *उकाहै, Pr. उक्काहै (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निभाए or निभाहै *he accomplishes*, Pr. निवाहै, Skr. निर्वाहयति; E. H. म्हैस् *buffalo*, cf. § 177.

Note: There are instances in Pr.; as बहिणी or भइणी *sister* (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गढइ or घउइ *he fashions* (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढै or गाढै or गडै or गाडै (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पंधाँ or पंदरहं *fifteen*, also M. पंधरा; S. इको *this* for *इजहो; उको *that* for *उजहो (§ 438, 4); खँ *from* for *कहाँ, खे *to* for *कहे (§ 375); चाल्कारो *forty* for *चालीहारो; पांह or पान्ह जो *own* for *पानह जो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै *he puts on* (clothes) for *परिहै, Mg. *पलिहइ or *पलिधइ or *पलिधेइ (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. पजिदधाति; E. H. चहुँपै and पहुँचै *he arrives*, Pr. पहुच्चइ (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापयते (Mg. पयावच्चइ); also कीच् or कीचर and चीक् or चीकर *mud* (Skr. चिक्रिद); नखलौ and लेखनौ *Lucknow*; बिराम् and बिमार *sick* (persian بيمار); also W. H. रहस् and हरस् *merriment*, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूडै *he sinks*, Pr. बुडइ (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. वुडति (i. e. मज्जति).

Note: Also in Pr.; as बाणारसी (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वाराणसी, E. H. बनारस् *Benares*; Pr. अलचपुरं (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अचलपुरम्, E. H. अलवर (for *अलअउरं) *Alwar*; Pr. मरहं (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रम्, E. H. मरह् or मराह् *Maráthá*, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. ह्रदः, E. H. दह् *deep water*; Pr. हलिआरो or हरिआलो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियार *green*; Pr. हलुअं (for हलुकं) or लहुअं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलुक्, H. H. हलका *light*.

134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानब्रे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणवृड्, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिकनावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्कणामट्टी, Skr. चिक्कणाकमृत्तिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुहुमि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवो (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. पिरुयमो *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिए (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केशजिकः.

Note: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश, E. H. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °रिसं (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or रिमं (for रिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृशं *like*, E. H. °इस (in तइसन् § 124); Pr. °हत्तरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*°, Skr. °सप्ततिः, E. H. °हत्तरू. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिवि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन्त् *how* for *केवन्त्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केवडु; G. चुमालीण् *forty four* = E. H. चौवालिस; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. द् in E. H. पन्दरह् *fifteen*, Pr. पसरह (H. C. 2, 43) or पत्तरस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदश; again र् in E. H. करोर् or करोर् *ten millions*, Ap. क्रोडि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. कोडी (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. कोटिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. *सापु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. शापः (semitats.); again य् in E. H. ऐयारह्, Pr. *एगारह or एक्कारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्यावन् *fifty one*, Pr. *एक्कावणं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्यासी *eighty one*, Pr. *एक्कासीई (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्यानब्रे *ninety one*, Pr. *एक्काणवृड्, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानब्रे or निनानब्रे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

Note: E. H. has a word कोरी or कोजे, but it means *score, twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐय्य° and ऐक्य° stand for ऐगय° and ऐक्कय, Skr. एकक°. — Occasionally र् is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*.

δ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पक्का *ripe*, A. Mg. पक्कए, Skr. पक्कः; E. H. पत्थर *stone*, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. प्रस्तः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निक्कम्मए, Skr. निःकर्मकः; E. H. कान्ह *krishna*, Mg. कपहे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. बिसुास् *belief*, Skr. विश्वासः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *householder*, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चल्यो *I walked*, Ap. *चलिअउं, Pr. चलिअऽम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि, or in the semitats. आग्या *order*, P. आगिआ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आज्ञा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. चिन्ती *petition* for चिनती, Pr. विषत्तिआ, Skr. विज्ञापिका; E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom* for दुलहा, Mg. दुल्लहए, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. चिसुा *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वोसवँए or वोसमए, Skr. विंशमकः; E. H. गधा *ass* for गदहा, Mg. गद्धहए, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. बरेला *hog* for वरहेला, Ap. Mg. *वराहिल्लए, Skr. वराहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *kharī* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐखत्तर *seventy one*, सयत्तर *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak¹), homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogenous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as क्क, न्, त्, म्, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as क्क, न्, त्, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.

न्ह, म्ह, ल्ह, हँ, ढ्ह = ढ्ह); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the *tadbh.* and *tats.*, are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (अ, इ or उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *elided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् praise; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि prosperity; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वारम्; E. H. दुवार door. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईसरो or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर lord; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for *वस्सा, Skr. वर्षा, E. H. वास् rain (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *elided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. राई or रत्तो (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति night; or after dissolution, as in Pr. रत्तणं (Vr. 3, 60) for रत्तणं, Skr. रत्तम्, E. H. रत्नम् gem; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conjuncts, tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvāra preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सज्का, Skr. सन्ध्या, E. H. साँक् evening), or of ह् following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कण्हो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् krishna; Pr. ब्रम्हणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. ब्रामन् bráhmaṇ) or ल् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पल्हत्यइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, E. H. पल्यै he turns over). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following र् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;

e. g., Ap. प्रित् or पित्, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. व्रासु or वसु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*); in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186.

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ is interpolated; often; E. H. इमली *tamarind*, Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. *अमलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अम्लिका; E. H. सुदर्सन *beautiful*, A. Mg. मुदरिसणे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दरसन *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दरिसणं, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बरही *peacock*, A. Mg. बरिहिए (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बर्हिकः; E. H. परामरस् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामरिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्शः; E. H. सुकरू or सुकल् *white*, Pr. सुकिलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अमिरुअं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अम्लिं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्लम्; E. H. मुरख *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरुक्खे (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरछा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा (semitats.); E. H. अचरन् *wonderful*, कारन् *work*, अचारन् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बरहई or बर्हई or बरुई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. बमहन् or बामन् *brāhman*, Mg. बम्हणे (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; E. H. कन्हैया or कन्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कणहर (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस्र *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहस्रं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चकरू *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. परबत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. जन्म *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रत्न *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. बिगत् *individual*, रगत *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग°), भगत *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगताई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. बरकि *but*, Pers. बल्कि (بلكه).

139. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. अग्नि or अगनि or अगि *fire*; Pr. अगिणी (Ls. 244) or अगणो (H. C. 1, 102) or अगो (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिसिरू or मिसरू *a brāhman family-name*, A. Mg. *मिसिरे (but मीसे *mixed* Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मिश्रः; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, पाइल् or पावल् *attained*, see § 109; E. H. बिरिछू *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सइन् *sign*, see § 141.

Note: The E. H. conjunct ग्य *gya*, O. H. गिन *gina* is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. राग्यो, O. H. रागिनो, Skr. राग्यो; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. पुरुब्, W. H. पुरब्, Pr. पुरुब् (Ls. 183) or पुरब् (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरुब्?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. सुरुग् *top, point*, but सीग् *horn* and सग् *spear*, Pr. सिंगं or संगं (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. शृङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones; thus क् becomes ग् (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. बिगत्, रगत्, भगत्, etc.; see § 138; ज्ञ् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सइन् or सैन् *sign*, Pr. *सइणा or *सजिणा, Skr. सञ्ज्ञा, cf. Pr. राइणा (H. C. 3, 51) for *राजिणा, Ps. Pr. राचिजा (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राज्ञा; द् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अइलो or आयो *I came*, Mg. आविदऽम्हि or आविअऽम्हि, Skr. आप्पोऽस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पइलो or पायो *I obtained*, Mg. पाविदऽम्हि or पाविअऽम्हि, Skr. प्राप्पोऽस्मि; न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct °ग्य° for O. H. °गिन°, see § 139, note.

Note: The participial examples, as अइलो, पायो, etc. and Pr. तविओ (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तप्, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a connecting (suff. इ + त), not a dissolving vowel.

142. Affinities. Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दरसन् for Pr. दरिषणं; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सारंगं (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. शार्ङ्गम्, E. H. सारंग् *bow*; Pr. वरिसं, हरिसो, फरिसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114. Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गरिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse* = A. Mg. *गलिह्मा or *गर्हिमा, Skr. गर्हिका; but it dissolves in गरियावै or गलियावै *he abuses* for *गरिहावै, A. Mg. *गलिहावइ or Pr. *गरिहावइ, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हापयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रयणं or रमणं *gem* (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for *रतणं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रयन् or रैन् *night*; Pr. वड्, *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for *वज्रिन्, Skr. वज्रम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from बैर *enmity*, Pr. वड् (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैरम्; but E. H. वज्र (semitats.); Pr. सुड्लं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुकिलं), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तविम्रो *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for *तविदो, Skr. तपः, E. H. *deest*, but it has तान् = Pr. तन्नो; Pr. पडमं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for *पदुमं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. राड्णा *by a king* for *राजिणा (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in अगणी *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुड्लं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. सुकल्; Pr. पुरुवं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरवं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरुब् or पुरब्¹); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in सुहमं (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुमं (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for *सुखुमं, Skr. सूक्ष्मम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided*; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सकै *he can*, Pr. सक्कइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. शक्नोति; E. H. सूखा or सूका *dry*, A. Mg. सुक्खए or सुक्कए (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289 — 291); ग् in E. H. माग् *road* (see § 45); E. H. बाय् *tiger*, Mg. बाये (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पच्चइ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. माक्को *fly*, Pr. मच्छिमा (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मक्षिकाः; ज् in E. H. आज् *to-day*, Pr. अज्ज (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अय; E. H. बूकै *he understands*, Pr. बुक्कइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. बुध्यते; ट् in E. H. तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. त्रुट्यति; E. H. वोठि *back*, Pr. विट्ठी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृष्ठम् or Ved. पृष्ठिः; ड् in E. H. कौडो or कौरी, see § 104; E. H. बडै *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. बात् *event, word*, Pr. वत्ता (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. वार्ता; E. H. हाय् *hand*, A. Mg. हत्थे, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गदहा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूध् *milk*, Pr. दुडं (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुग्धम्; प् in E. H. क्खय् or क्खै *a kind of verse*, Mg. क्खये (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. षट्पदः; E. H. बाफ् *steam*, Mg. वप्फे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. बाष्पः; ब् or व् in E. H.

1) सुड्लं and पुरुवं seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has ब् for व्, not for व् (cf. § 129).

सत्र् *all*, A. Mg. सत्रे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. सर्वः; E. H. ज़ोभ् *tongue*, Pr. जिब्बा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा; झ् in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लंकिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्किका or पल्यङ्किका; ज् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. *पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. सप्ता (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संज्ञा; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. आन् *other*, Mg. अन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. अन्यः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; म् in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलटै *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्तयति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पुस्से or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पुष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but for बल्कि*, Pers. بلكي; E. H. बाटे *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واسطی (?).

Exception. Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर् or पाथर् *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कमं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच् or सच् or साच् or साँच् *true*, उच् or उँच् *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्चा or बच्चा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बच्चा or बच्चा *young*, Mg. बच्चे (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. वत्सकः; E. H. पट्टा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टे, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिद्ध or गोध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पंक् (i. e. पङ्क् § 13) or पाँक् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided*; only य्, व् and optionally ह्; thus य् in E. H. पाथा *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अवध् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. मधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for *पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोजन् *necessity* for *पर्योजन्, Skr. प्रयोजनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance* for *पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूमै *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बइ (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. तामुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुक्कै *he understands*, Mg. सम्बुक्कइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. पिरथी *earth* (also पिरथमी see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats.). Again ह् in बामन् or

ब्राम्हन् or ब्रमहन् *Bráhmaṇ*, कान् or कान्ह् *krishna* (e. g., in कान्पुर *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सूनू *daughter-in-law* for *सुन्हू, Pr. *सुपहुआ or *सोपहुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. सुषा (or *सुषुका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समालै or सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोल् or कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for *गाल्ही, see § 142.

Exception. Rarely न् is elided before ह्; as E. H. जोहै *he regards, looks*, Pr. जोपहड़ (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. *ज्योत्सुयति (denom. R.).

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus उ as a rule becomes ॡ or ॢ; e. g., in E. H. कौरी or कौड़ी *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes ॡ (§ 110) as in E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; ण् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *ear*, Mg. कण्णे, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, आन् see § 143; कान्, सूनू see § 144; ढ् as a rule becomes ॡ or ॢ, as in E. H. बढै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes ब् (§ 129), as in E. H. सब् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चकी or चक्की *wheel*, Pr. चक्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लाज् *shame*, Pr. लज्जा, Skr. लज्जा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. सट्टी, Skr. षष्टिः; E. H. रान् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हाथी *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्थिए, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अठए (cf. H. C. 2, 41), Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. वप्पा (Mchh. 119, 5), Skr. वप्ता; E. H. घाम् *heat*, Mg. घम्मे, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

Exception 1. Sometimes उ and ढ् preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँउँ *he shaves*, मोँढा *stool*, see § 149.

Exception 2. Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परकै or परखै *he tests*, see § 58; घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महंग्घे (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्घः; ध् in E. H. लाँदा or काँधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. लंधए (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; ह् in E. H. अचरन् *wonderful* for *अकरन्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बछा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावै or पक्तावै *he repents*, Pr. पच्छत्तावइ, Skr. पश्चात्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूच्चं or मूच्छं *beard*, see § 56; E. H. चाहै or क्वाहै *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); ह् in E. H. अरतिस् or अउतिस् or अरुतिस् *thirty eight*, see § 113; E. H. अरतालिस् or अउतालिस् or अरुतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अरुअत्तालीसं (or अउयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अरुसठ्ठी, Skr. अष्टषष्टिः; ह् in E. H. बडा *great* for *बडा, Mg. बड्ण (or बड^o Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बेड् *enclosure* for *बेड्, Mg. वेड् (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गडै or गडै *he fashions*, बिगरै or बिगडै *it is spoilt*, see § 130.

Note: There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्कं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200 for *पल्लट्टइ) or पल्लट्टइ *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंचुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिच्छू or बीछू, M. विंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्टो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हात् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाथ् (§ 143); M. हाती *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हायो (§ 145); M. साँज् *evening*, B., O., E. H. साँक् (§ 149, 1); M. साँद् *hole in a wall*, E. H. सेँध्, see § 57; M., B., O. सीडी *ladder*, E. H. सीडी, Pr. *सिडी, Skr. श्रेधी (?); M., B. साडे 2½; M. दीड, B. देड् 1½; B. आटत्रिण्, M. अउतीस् or अठतीस् 38; B. आटचल्लिण् 48; M. बडा *great*, बेडा *enclosure*, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has स्त, स्त, अ for ह्, स्त् and च्छ (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोस्टागालं, Skr. कोष्टागारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुश्चदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. *The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes; thus* always in E. H. अत् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्त^o); e. g., E. H. होत् *being*, Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्; E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलंते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेंते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् *five*, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचोस् *twenty five*, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् *fifty five*, Pr. *पंचपन्नं, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुख् *pain*, see § 116, note; E. H. गभिन् *pregnant*, Pr. गब्भिणा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सकै, पचै, इपय्, सत्र्, पालकी,

पलटै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समुकै, पलथै, see § 144; E. H. ब्रै, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25); thus E. H. आम्र, but अमरा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. दूबर, but दुबरा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उत्रलइ, Skr. उत्रजति; E. H. गदहा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. अमला, पलथै, see § 144; and others.

Note: Similarly M. has अन् suff. of 3. pers. pl., Pr. अन्ति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चलत् *they were in the habit of going*, Pr. चलन्ति, Skr. चलन्ति; both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच° in comp.; e. g., M. पंचवीस्, B. पंचिण्, E. H. पचीस्.

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule; thus अ in E. H. आठ eight, Pr. अट्, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी queen, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् with, Pr. सत्यं, Skr. संस्यम्, etc.; इ in E. H. भीख् or भीछ् alms, Pr. भिक्खा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा; E. H. रीछ् or रीख् bear, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋक्षः; E. H. दोढि sight, see § 43; E. H. सीय् boiled rice, indigo, Pr. सित्यं (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. शिक्यम्; E. H. तीनि or तीन् three, Pr. तिस्सि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; उ in E. H. सूत् thread, Pr. सुत्तं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. उन् wool, Pr. उष्मा, Skr. उर्णा; E. H. मूह् fist, Pr. मुट्ठी (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुष्टिः; E. H. पूत् son, Mg. पुत्ते, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ऐ in E. H. सेज् bedding, Pr. सेज्जा (see § 6), Skr. शय्या; E. H. पेज् lump, Pr. पेण्डं (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐँचा crooked, Pr. *ऐँचअं, Skr. अञ्चितकम्; E. H. एक् one, Pr. ऐक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोह् hip, Mg. *पोट्टे, Skr. प्रोथः; E. H. बोलै he says, Pr. बोल्लइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. वदति; E. H. पोथी book, Pr. पोत्थिआ (cf. Vr. 1; 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.*

148. *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ; rarely; thus अ in E. H. लेज्जुर or लेज्जुरो cord, see § 110. exc.; सेँध् hole in a wall, see § 57; E. H. पेज् tree, see § 103; E. H. बेँगन् egg-plant, Mg. वंगणो, Skr. वङ्गनः; E. H. एरी or एगी heel, Pr.?, Skr. अङ्घ्रिः; E. H. ऐँचा crooked, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकडा crab, Mg. कक्कुडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केँचुरो or केँचुली skin of a snake, Pr. कंचुलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कञ्चुलिका; again E. H. मोँह् or मूँह् moustache,*

चोँच् *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मकेला *middle*, A. Mg. मज्जिल्लए (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. केँचुवा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. हेदू *hole*, Pr. हिदू (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. हिद्रम्; E. H. सेम् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कोपै *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोरू *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोख् *belly*, Pr. कुक्खो, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोँठ *ginger*, Pr. सुंठी, Skr. शुपिठः.

Note: The change of अ to ए or ओ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहरू *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs. अहेस् *thou art*, O. H. अहसि is formed.

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized*; 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus आ in E. H. जॉय् *leg*, Pr. जंघा, Skr. जङ्घा; E. H. बॉक् *barren woman*, Pr. वंका, Skr. बन्धा; E. H. साँक् *evening*, Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्धा; E. H. चाँदू *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डाँडी *footpath*, Pr. डंडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भाँडा *pot*, Mg. भंडए (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डकः; E. H. काँपै *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again ई in E. H. मोँत्रै *he rubs*, Pr. मिंजइ, Skr. मृञ्जति; E. H. सीँचै *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्चति, etc. Again उ in E. H. सूँड *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंडा, Skr. शुण्डा; E. H. मूँडै *he shaves*, Pr. मुंडइ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. मुण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेँध्, ऐँचा, बेँगन्, etc., and चोँच्, मोँछ्, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि *eye*, see § 43; E. H. माँगै *he requests*, Pr. मागइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. मार्गयति; E. H. आँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. *अच्चो, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साँच् *true*, Pr. सच्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईँख् or ईख् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईँट् or ईट् *brick*, Pr. इट्ठा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भीँत् or भीत् *wall*, Pr. भिन्नी, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नीँदू or नीदू *sleep*, see § 42. Again उ in E. H. उँख् or उख् *sugarcane*, Pr. *उक्खू or उच्छू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुद्गः (masc.); E. H. उँच् *high*, Pr. उच्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चम्; E. H. उँट् *camel*, Pr. उट्ठो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उष्ट्रः. Again ए

in E. H. केँकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होँह or होह् *lip*, A. Mg. ओह् (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. ओष्ठः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भक्षम् *boiled rice*, Pr. भन्न (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भतु; Skr. सप्त *seven*, Pr. सन्न (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत, P. सन्न; Skr. अष्ट *eight*, Pr. अट् (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आह्, S. अठ, P. अट्; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्नी (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. राति or रात्, P. रन्न, S. रति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is स् (or श् or ष्); e. g., Pr. लासं (H. C. 2, 92) for *लस्सं (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, E. H. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरौ (H. C. 2, 92) or इस्सरौ (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर *lord*; Pr. बीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बीसई (Ls. 320), Skr. विंशत् or विंशतिः, E. H. बीस् *twenty*; Pr. सीसं (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. शीर्षम्, E. H. सीस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. *वास् *rain* (in कपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा *command* for *अणा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. बिल्वम्, E. H. बेल् *wood-apple*; Pr. पोक्खरो, Skr. पुष्करः, E. H. पोखर *pond*; Pr. पोत्थओ, Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोथा; Pr. मोगगरो, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. मोगर *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated, see § 145. exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क् is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चौधरी *headman, chief* for *चव° (§ 69), *चअ°, A. Mg. चक्कधरिए, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. *discus-holder*; from °रिन् + क).

152. च् is elided; rarely; in E. H. चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् *forty four* (B. चोयालिश), A. Mg. चोयालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for Pr. *चउच्चत्रालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = श्र), Skr. चतुश्चत्वाविंशत्; E. H. द्वियालिस् *forty six* (cf. § 55), Pr. *क्वच्चत्रालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वाविंशत्; E. H. तेँतालिस् (O. तेयालिश), A. Mg. तेआलीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिंयाले Wb. Bh. 425) for *तेच्चत्रालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वाविंशत्.

Note: In composition the र् of चतुर and ष् (or ट्) of षष् (or षट्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउदृह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + दृश) or चउव्वारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + वार); again क्पप्पो (H. C. 2, 77 for षट् + पद) or क्मुहो or क्मु° (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for षट् + मुख), क्गुणो (Ls. 240 for षट् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर + विंशति), चउमुहु (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर + मुख); again क्हत्तरि (क् + हत्तरि for षट् + सप्तति) or क्दिसिं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for षट् + दिशी). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचत्त° or (eliding च, see § 101) चउअत्त°; क्चत्त° or क्अत्त°; and similarly तिचत्त° or तिअत्त° (Skr. त्रिचत्वाविंशत्).

153. त् is elided; sometimes; in E. H. आउ and आन् suff. of abstract nouns for Ap. Pr. अअउ or अअणु, Pr. अअअं or अअणं or अअत्तं or अअणं, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनम्, see § 227; E. H. चारि *four* for *चआरि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, see § 110. exc.; E. H. च्यालिस् *forty two*, A. Mg. वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for *वाअत्रालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वाविंशत्; E. H. चवालिस् or चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् *forty four* (cf. § 26) and E. H. द्वियालिस् *forty six*, see § 152; E. H. सैँतिस् *thirty seven* (O. सइँतिश) for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. सत्ततीसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सैँतालिस् *forty seven* for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. *सत्तअत्रालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वाविंशत्; E. H. रोअब् or रोइब् *to weep*, Pr. रोत्तव्वं (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 55 or रोइअव्वं Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइव्वं), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मियाँ *friend* (a respectful address), Mg. मिअए or मित्रए (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धाई *wet-nurse*, Pr. धाइआ or *धातिआ or धत्तिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दाई *foster-mother, wet-nurse*, Pr. *दातिआ or दत्तिआ, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

appellation of a father or elder brother (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. *दातुए or *दत्तुए (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भातिए or *भत्तिए, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. *मातिआ or *मत्तिआ, see § 63; E. H. बाय् *he is* for *बाइ, Pr. वन्नइ, Skr. वर्तते.

154. ण् is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चउआ or चउपा *fourfooted*, Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् *fifty four* (M. चौपन्), Mg. *चउपन् or *चउप्पन् (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्.

155. वृ is elided; rarely; optionally in E. H. ऐ *suffix of the oblique infinitive*, for *अए or *इए for *अव्वे or *इव्वे, Ap. *इव्वहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअव्वस्स, Skr. इतव्यस्य; e. g., E. H. चलै or चलव्वे (cf. § 129) *to go*, Ap. चलिव्वहे, Pr. चलिअव्वस्स, Skr. चलितव्यस्य; E. H. खाये (for *खाइए) or खाइव्वे or खाव्वे *to eat*, Ap. खाइव्वहे, Pr. खाइअव्वस्स, Skr. खादितव्यस्य.

156. न् is elided; rarely; in E. H. पैँतिस् *thirty five* (O. पइँतिश, B. पयँत्रिश for पअँ), A. Mg. पन्तीसं or पपातीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. पैँतालिम् *forty five* for पन्नातँ, A. Mg. पन्चत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पपायालीसं), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. पैँसठि *sixty five*, A. Mg. *पन्सट्टी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinities.* In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.; thus some instances of च् see in § 152, and of त् in § 153; others of त् are, Pr. राई or रत्ती *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काउणा *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for *कातूणा or *कत्तूणा (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. कृत्वा (or *कृत्वानं), E. H. *deest*; Pr. काअव्वं (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*, Mg. कायव्वं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादव्वं (Vk. 67) *to be done* for *कातव्वं or *कत्तव्वं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. *deest* (it forms कर्ब्); Pr. वअस्सअअँ (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्वँ. An instance of क् is Pr. तेलोअं or तेल्लोक्कं *the three worlds* (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्, E. H. *deest*; and of ग्, Mg. नियंथे *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निगंथे, Skr. निर्यत्यः, E. H. *deest*. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्, ग्, ण्, कब्, च् become ऊ, ऊँ, ऊँ, ऊँ, ऊँ respectively; thus क् in E. H. कंकरु *limestone*, Pr. *कक्करं, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. कंकरोल्

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कुडुल्लु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः¹⁾; again ग् in E. H. नंग् *naked*, A. Mg. नग्गे (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नग्गः, and in its derivatives as नंगा, नंगी *naked*, नंगाई *nakedness*, etc.; again कल् in E. H. पंल् *wing*, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पक्षः, and in its derivatives पंखा, पंखी *fan*, पंखरी or पंखड़ी *flower-leaf* (Ap. पक्खडिआ), पंखी *bird* (from Skr. पक्षिन्)²⁾; again ग् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, see § 145. exc. 2; again च् in E. H. पंकी *bird*, Pr. पच्छिओ, Skr. पक्षिकः (from पक्षिन् + क), and in its cognates पंखाला *tail of a paper-kite* (Ap. *पच्छमउउ) from Skr. पक्ष *tail*³⁾.

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वंक्, Skr. वक्रम्, E. H. बॉक् *crooked*; Pr. मंसू, Skr. मश्रु, E. H. मॉसू *tear*; Pr. मंसू, see § 56; Pr. पुंक्, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूंछ *tail*; Pr. पंसू, see § 44; Pr. मंजारो, Skr. मार्जारः, E. H. मंजारू *cat*, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. बिच्छू or बीछू *scorpion* (M. विंचू) for Pr. विंछिओ or विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. ँस् and ँह् become न्स् and ङ्; always; thus ँस् in E. H. हन्स् or हाँस *goose*, see p. 29; E. H. मन्स् or माँस् or मास् *flesh*, see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा *slaughter*, see § 39, etc.; again ँह् in E. H. सिंग् or सीँघ् *lion*, see p. 29; E. H. संघारू *collection*, Pr. संघारो or संहारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, etc.

Note: The change of ँह् to ङ् is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of ँह् and ँस्, see §§ 38. 39; and of ँघ् see § 13.

160. ङ् and ञ् become ङ् and ञ्; rarely; thus ङ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्गाल्, see § 13) *destitute*, Mg. *कंकाले (i. e., कङ्काले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्कालः (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. H. कंगन् *bracelet*, Pr. कंकणं (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्कणम्; E. H. पलंग् *bed*, Mg. पल्लंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगरी or पलंगडी *small bedstead*, Ap. पल्लंकडिआ, Skr. पर्यङ्किका; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् *mud*, see p. 29; E. H.

1) But E. H. ककरी or ककडी *cucumber*, Pr. कक्कुडिआ, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँल्, पाँखा, पाँखी, cf. § 149.

3) पंकी and पंखाला might be corruptions for पुंकी, पुंखाला, from Pr. पुंक्, see note.

पॉगा salt (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकए, Skr. पङ्कजः; E. H. पंगति row (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पॉति p. 30), Skr. पङ्क्तिः; E. H. बॉगर high ground, Ap. वंकडं, Skr. वक्रम् (lit. curved); again घ् in E. H. कुंजी key, Pr. *कुञ्चिआ, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

161. ल् and न् become ल्ह् and न्ह्; optionally; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह् yesterday or to-morrow, Pr. कल्लं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह् kite, Mg. चिल्ले, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चीलर or चील्हर louse, Ap. चिल्लुडु, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. पेलर or पेल्लहर testicle, Ap. पेल्लुडं (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्लुड), Skr. पेलम्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीन् or दीन्ह given, A. Mg. दिन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिस्से (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह done (Ap. Pr. किन्नुड H. C. 4, 329?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह taken for *लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्हि suffix of 3. pers. pl. for *एन्ति or *इअन्ति, Pr. इअन्ति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पठिन् or पठेन् or O. H. पठेन्हि they read for *पठिअन्ति, Pr. पठिअन्ति, Skr. *पठितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलेन्हि they walked for *चलिअन्ति, Pr. चलिअन्ति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

Note: In Pr. पल्लत्यं (H. C. 2, 68) and पल्हत्यं (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एपिहं (Vr. 4, 33) for एप्पिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानीम्.

162. स् becomes स्त्; rarely; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् husbandman, householder, Mg. °हस्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्थः (semitats.), and its derivative ग्रिहस्ती husbandry.

163. ष् becomes न्द् or न्त्; rarely; E. H. गन्ना or गन्दा or गॉडा sugarcane (lit. having joints), Mg. गंडए, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गंदेरी or गंडेरी joint of sugarcane, Ap. गंडइल्लिआ, Skr. गण्डक°.

164. क् becomes त्त्; very rarely; E. H. कुत्ता dog (G. कुतर), Ap. कुक्कुर, Skr. कुक्करः (usually E. H. कूकर or कुक्कर); and its derivative E. H. कुतर puppy.

165. त् and ध् become त्त् or त् and द् or ध् respectively; very rarely; thus E. H. नित्त् or नित्, A. Mg. निन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मडि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. च् and ज् become छ् and ज्; always in semitats.; see §§ 36. 37.

c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

α) VOWELS.

167. अ becomes इ; rarely; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamarind* (cf. § 138), Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अम्लिका.

168. आ becomes अ; sometimes; thus E. H. अचारू *teacher*, Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचारू or आचारू *conduct*, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अया or आया *command*, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. ए becomes अ; rarely; E. H. अकेला *solitary*, A. Mg. एकल्लए (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or *एक्किल्लए, Skr. एकलकः.

170. ए becomes इ; sometimes; as E. H. इग्यारह् or ऐग्यारह् *eleven*; इक्वावन् or ऐक्वावन् *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए and ओ become व and व respectively; sometimes; thus ए in E. H. वक् or ऐक् or एक् *one*, Mg. एक्के (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. वह् or ऐह् (or ई) *he, this*, Ap. एह or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. वह् or ओह् (or उ) *he, that*, Ap. *एवेह or *एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. *एवादृशः (= एवंविधः); E. H. वनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of उन; cf. § 98.

172. अ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. भीतरू *within*, A. Mg. अन्निमंतरं (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीतै *he is afflicted with grief*, Pr. *अन्निमज्जइ, Skr. अभ्ययते (pass. of अर्द्); E. H. भीतै *he is wet*, Pr. *अन्निमज्जइ, Skr. अभ्यादूयते (denom. of अर्द् *wet*); E. H. काँउ *he sweeps*, Pr. *अन्तकट्टुइ, Skr. अध्वयति (caus. of अर्द्) or Skr. अध्याटयति (caus. of अर्द् *roam*, cf. Pr. काँटइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंगी *upper garment*, A. Mg. अन्तंगए, Skr. अध्वङ्गकः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अन्तंगिआ, Skr. अध्वङ्गिका; E. H. रहट् or अरहट् *water-wheel*; E. H. तीसो *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as रयणी, Skr. अरतिः, etc.

173. उ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. चाहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or बइठै *he sits*, Pr. उवविट्टइ, Skr. *उपविष्टति

(denom. of उपविष्ट, cf. Ap. Pr. बइष्ट H. C. 4, 444, see § 352); E. H. वै upon, see § 124; E. H. पाथा teacher, see § 144.

Note: For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g., पोसह, Skr. उपवसथ, etc.

β) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् and द् become ट् and ड्; rarely; thus त् in E. H. टूटै or तूटै it breaks, Pr. तुट्ट (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. त्रुट्यति; E. H. टट्ट or तट्ट pony, Mg. *तट्ट (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तर्तृकः (of R. तृ; cf. तुर्ग horse); E. H. टीक् or टीका (fem.) sectarian mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. होठ् or होर beak for *टोर, Pr. तोडं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुपडम्. Again द् in E. H. डीठ् or दीठ् or दीठि sight, see § 43; E. H. डाढी or दाढी beard, Pr. दाढिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाढिका); E. H. डाठ् or दाठ् tooth, tusk, Pr. दाढा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डाल् or डाल् branch (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दाजे; E. H. डार or डाला branch, A. Mg. *दाल् or *डाल् (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालं), Skr. दाजकः; E. H. डारी or डाली branch, A. Mg. दालिआ, Skr. दाजिका; E. H. डेरु or डेरु or डेवरु or डेवरु one and a half, see § 114.

Note: Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोर or दोर cord, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली a swing, a dooly, Pr. डोलओ or डोलिआ or द°, Skr. दोलकः or दोलिका; Pr. डडो or दडो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाढा burnt, fire (Skr. दग्धकः?); Pr. डरो or दरो, Skr. दरः, E. H. डर or दर fear; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह् malice, jealousy and दाह् burning; Pr. डभो or दभो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डाम् kusa-grass; Pr. डसड्, Skr. दशति he bites, E. H. डसै; Pr. डट्टो or दट्टो, Skr. दष्टः bitten, oppressed, whence perhaps E. H. डार threat, डाटै or डोटै he threatens; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. डहै it burns, Mg. डहड् (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. डहड् (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. डम् arrogance, Pr. डभो or दभो, Skr. दम्भः.

175. क्, ट्, ड् become ख्, छ्, ढ्, respectively; very rarely; thus क् in E. H. खौसी cough, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

Skr. कासिका; E. H. ठोर *beak* for *टोर, see § 174; E. H. ठेकुना *bug*, Pr. उंकुणओ (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मत्कुपाकः.

Note: Pr. examples are: खप्परं (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खप्पर *skull, tile*; Pr. खोलओ (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कीलकः, but E. H. कीला *nail*; again Pr. कुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. छूछ mean; again Pr. कडिलो or तडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. तटिलः, E. H. *deest*.

176. भ् becomes ह्; rarely; E. H. हाँड् or भाँड् *pot*, A. Mg. भंटे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाण्डः.

Note: In Pr. होइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय *he is*.

177. Aspiration is transferred; E. H. म्हैस् or भैस् or महिस् or बहिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महिषः, see § 178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for *बुहुखा, Mg. बुभुक्खिण् (or भुक्खे Wb. Bh. 290?), Skr. बुभुक्षितः; E. H. भबूति or भभूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. विभूतिः (semitats.); E. H. भाप् or भाफ् or बाफ् *steam*, see § 143; E. H. फूप् or फूफ् *flower*, see § 132.

178. म् becomes व्; very rarely; in E. H. बहिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see § 177. 134.

Note: In Pr. चम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. मन्मथः, E. H. *deest*.

179. ल् becomes न्; very rarely; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§ 31. 111.

Note: In Pr. णाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर *tiger*; Pr. पांगलं *plough*, पांगूलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लाँगल् and लाँगूल्, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् becomes ल्; very rarely; E. H. लोल् or नील् *dark-blue* (§ 31), A. Mg. नीले (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot*; E. H. लीम् or नीम् *lime-tree* (S. लिमु or निमु), see p. 20.

Note: In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निम्बः; but E. H. नीम् *Nimb-tree*.

181. य् and व् become ज् and ब् respectively; always; thus य् in E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्तः (semitats); E. H. जोग् *worthy*, Mg. योगो (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योग्यः; E. H. जानै *he knows*, Mg. याणइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or याणदि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. जानाति (see

pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. ब्रात्, see § 143; E. H. ब्रातै or ब्रतै it is sounded, Pr. वज्रत् (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. वृजते, etc.; also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुरवासी citizen, Skr. पुरवासी (semitats); see § 17.

182. स् becomes ह्; very rarely; E. H. होँचै or सोँचै he sprinkles, see § 149.

Note: In Pr. ह्वत्सो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सप्पर्णाः; E. H. deest.

183. ह् is prefixed; very rarely; E. H. होँह् lip, see § 149.

Note: Frequently in S.; as एडो or हेडो so large, ओडो or होडो so large, एतिरो or हेतिरो so many (Tr. 224), एकु or हेकु one (Tr. 157), इति or हिति here (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. एया or हेया here, ओया or होया there (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे hither (§ 468, b).

184. Consonants are elided; only in alliterative phrases; thus र् in रोटी ओटी meal (lit. bread, etc.); or ल् in खाना आना dinner; very commonly प्, as पानी आनी water; आस् पास close by; उलट् पुलट् topsy-turvy; अक्तावै पक्तावै he repents deeply; etc.

γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. अ is interpolated; often; thus E. H. नहान् bathing, Ap. Pr. पहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाय् he bathes, Pr. पहाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति: E. H. नहाटै he flees, Pr. *पहट्टइ, Skr. *सुस्तयति (denom. of part. सुस्त); E. H. परोहन् carriage, Ap. प्रवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. पर्घट or पर्गट manifest, see § 102; E. H. पर्गास् clearness, Ap. Pr. प्रगासु (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. पर्गासै he displays, Ap. Pr. प्रगासइ or प्रगासेइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. पर्सन् pleased, Ap. Pr. प्रससु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. परोहा leathern waterbucket, Ap. Pr. प्रवहउ or प्रवाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68), Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै he praises, Pr. सलाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघते; E. H. सराहन् praise, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. श्लाघनम्; E. H. सरेस् glue (lit. adhesion), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سریش sirish?); E. H. मलान् faded, Pr. मिलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. म्लानम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक् verse, Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोओ H. C. 2, 106).

Ls. 183); E. H. परोक्षन् *necessity*, पराग् *Allahabad*, पराचित् *penance*, see § 144.

Note: In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise*.

186. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. तिरपन् *fifty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिपलं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; E. H. तिरसठि *sixty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिसट्ठी, Skr. त्रिषष्टिः; E. H. तिरिका or त्रिका *triad*, see § 408; E. H. गिरहन् *eclipse*, Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलही *spleen*, Pr. *पिलहिम्ना, Skr. प्लीहिका; E. H. गिलानि *fatigue*, Pr. *गिलाणो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिरिया *woman*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिम्ना, Skr. त्रिका.

Note: In Pr. सिणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Ls. 182) or सणेहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love*; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. किरिम्ना (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath*; Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble*, see § 58, note.

187. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. सुमिरन् or सुमरन् *recollection*, Ap. Pr. सुमरण् (H. C. 4, 426. cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. The first consonant is elided; always; thus E. H. भीतरू *within* for अभीतरू, A. Mg. अभिन्तरं (§ 172), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीजै, काढै, कंगा, कंगिया, for अभीजै, कााडै, कंगा, कंगिया, see § 172; E. H. क्षमा *forgiveness* for *च्छमा, Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. चाहै *he desires* for *च्छाहै, see § 173.

Exception. ग् remains, as E. H. ग्गान् *knowledge*, Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the *kharī bhāshā* optionally also र् following a cons., as प्रगट् or परगट् *manifest*, § 185.

Note: In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. काओ or धाओ for *काओ or डाओ (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वजः; Pr. क्षमा or खमा for *च्छमा or *क्खमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives क्षमा in the sense of *earth* and खमा as *patience* or *forgiveness*; but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. ठाणं or थाणं for *ठूणं or *त्याणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally क्; as क्काणं° (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. ध्यान°; or ङ्कृसिन्ना (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. अध्यूषित्वा, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. The second consonant is elided; only इ; thus E. H. नाड barber, A. Mg. पहाविए or नाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः (or *स्नापिकः).

Note: In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for *पहेहो (not for *सेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. नेह् love, oil; Pr. निठं (H. C. 2, 109) for *पिहं, Skr. सिग्धम्, E. H. deest.

190. अ or इ is prefixed to स् preceding any consonant; only in semitats; thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति praise, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अस्रान् bathing, Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. अस्नेह् love, Skr. स्नेहः; E. H. इस्त-री woman, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल् or इस्कूल् school; E. H. इस्पंज् sponge; etc.

Note: A curiosity is the E. H. अचंपल् restless for Skr. चपलः

191. क्ष and ज्ञ become क्क्ष and ग्ग; only in semitats; see §§ 36. 37. In tadbh. ज्ञ becomes ज्ञ; e. g., E. H. ज्ञानी or ज्ञान् sage, Pr. ज्ञाणी (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ग्यानी.

SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the *pleonastic* and the *derivative*. The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा board, अग्नि and अग्निया fire, चाम् and चमरा leather, मीठ् and मिठका sweet, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes; the *primary* and *secondary*. The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा eat, खाड or खानिहारू eater, glutton; हँस् laugh, हँसी laughter; बन् grow, बन्ती growth, etc. The latter are added to the bases

of nouns and form secondary bases; as बूढ़ा *old*, बुढ़ापन् *old age*; हलुक् *light*, हलुकई *lightness*; बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगाली *a man of Bengal*; भेड़ *ram*, भेड़ी *ewe*; etc.

Note: The pleon. suff. are called by Pr. gramm. स्वार्थे or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429); and the deriv. suff., भवे (cf. H. C. 2, 163).

— In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *kṛt* and the secondary *taddhita*. The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the *taddhita* class.

193. *Affinities.* In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhātus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix अवि (Pr. अवि or आव, E. H. आव् or आ) and nominal bases (called *prātipādikas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. H. अ). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) *kṛt* or *taddhita* suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि *growth* from R. वृध् and suff. ति, but E. H. बढति of R. बर्धाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उचता *height* from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उच्चाई from base उच्च and suff. इआ (= उच्चक-तिका cf. § 223).

— Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. H. *as suffixes*; though, of course, they may be met with in E. H. words (especially in *tatsamas*) as *nominal terminations* and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. नि, in E. H. मुनि *sage*, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. कर्म (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. धरती *earth* for Skr. धरित्री; or in E. H. रात् *night*, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr. grammarians.

1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or अ and 2) उ

or र् or ल or न्. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

First Group.

195. Set.

Masculine.

1. आ, ई, ऊ; or इउँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्कु, इक्कु, उक्कु.
3. अका, इका, उका; or अक्का, इक्का, उक्का.
4. अवा, इवा, उवा; or अवॉ, इवॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा.
6. औवा, इयवा¹⁾, उअवा¹⁾; or औवॉ, इयवॉ¹⁾, उअवॉ¹⁾.

Feminine.

1. ई, ई, ऊ; or इउँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्कु, इक्कु, उक्कु.
3. अकी, इकी, उकी; or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की.
4. इया, इया, उवा; or इयॉ, इयॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; or अक्किया, इक्किय, उक्किया.
6. इयवा¹⁾, इयवा¹⁾, उअवा¹⁾; or इयवॉ¹⁾, इयवॉ¹⁾, उअवॉ¹⁾.

Note: Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels य् and व् may or may not be inserted after इ, उ and औ (cf. § 28); e. g., उवा or उआ, इया or इआ.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong forms*; those without the suff. their *weak forms*. The suff. आ (m.), ई (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus m. सॉच् or सॉचा *true*; f. सॉच् or सॉची; or m. मीह् or नीठा *sweet*, f. मीह् or मीठी; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

1) Sometimes pronounced इवा, उवा or इवॉ, उवॉ; contracted like औवा for *अववा § 203; and see §§ 83. 84. exc.

weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर house (not घरा), f. बात् event (not बाती); m. घोरा (or घोडा) horse, f. घोरी mare (not घोर); but m. पट् or पटा board, f. भेड़ or भेड़ी sheep, etc. The suff. ई and ऊ (both *gen. com.*) are added to nouns in इ and उ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as भारी heavy, गर heavy, हल् light, slow (not भारि, गर, हल). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., मालो gardener, हाथी elephant, बालू sand (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand आगि fire, मुनि sage, गुरु teacher (not आगी, मुनी, गुरु). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as ज्ञानि or ज्ञानी sage, बहिनि or बहिनी sister, पतोडु or पतोडू son's wife, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इँ (com. gen.) can be added to adj. in ई only; as m. f. भारी or भारिँ heavy. The form in इँ I shall call the *uncontracted*, that in ई the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or क्का, क्की contain the suff. आ, ई of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or क्क are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठका or मिठक्का, f. मिठकी or मिठक्की, of मोह sweet; छोटका, छोटकी or छोटक्का, छोटक्की, of छोट small; भारिका, भारिकी or भारिक्का, भारिक्की heavy, of *भारि (only used in the strong form भारी, § 196); हलुक or हलुक्क (gen. com.) or हलुका, हलुकी or हलुक्का, हलुक्की light, of *हलु (only in the strong form हल् § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक or तनिका small, of *तनु (see § 61); रचिक small. As to the forms in अक्का, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

Exception. There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिक्क beggar beside भिहू; बालक (or बालका) child beside बाल् and बाला; छोकरा boy, छोकरो girl beside छोरा, छोरी, from *छोक् or

*को° (= Skr. णाव°, Pr. णाव° Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. रा, री superadded. — Such nouns as लरिका *boy* (H. H. लउका), बैठिका or बैठिक् *seat* (H. H. बैठक्), etc. contain not the pleonastic, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

Note: The forms in क्का, क्की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *mithákkā*, भरिक्का *bharíkkā*, हलुक्की *halúkkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क *hálukk*, हलुक्का *hálukā*, छोटक्की *chhōṭ'kī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. अवा (m.), इया (f.) are added to nouns in अ, and the suff. इया and उवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर or घरवा *house*; f. बात or बतिया *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर्) or घोरिया *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. मालि) or मलिया *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुवा *sand*; f. अगि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.*, m. हलुक् or हलुकवा *light*; f. हलुक् or हलुकिया; m. छोटका (wk. f. छोटक्) or छोटकवा *small*; f. छोटक्की (wk. f. छोटक्कु) or छोटक्किया.

Note: Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उअ for अवा; and Bates 58. इअ for इया. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. इयवा (or ईवा) are added to subst. in अ, and c. g. इयवा and उअवा (or उवा) to subst. in इ and उ respectively. Thus m. घर or घरौवा *house*; f. बात or बतियवा (or बनोवा) *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्ौवा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. *घोर्) or घोरियवा *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. *मालि) or मलियवा (or मलीवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुअवा (or बलूवा) *sand*; f. अगि or अगियवा *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुअवा *teacher*. The suff. औवा and उअवा may be con-

tracted to औ; e. g., घोरोवा or घोरो; बलुअवा or बलौ. The suff. औवा may be also contracted into अउ; as घोरोवा or घोरउ.

Note: The contracted suff. औ always takes the accent; as घोरो *ghōraú*, not *ghórau*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinities.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gd. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gd., of आ, ई and ऊ; in N. and W. Gd. of ओ (or औ), ई and ऊ; see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gd.; excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gd., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) आ, ए, ओ contracted for E. H. अवा, इया, उआ; as B. रामा, E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; B. हरे, E. H. हरिया *Harí*; B. शंभो, E. H. संभुआ *Sambhú*; (f.) B. ई contracted for E. H. इया; as B. राधो, E. H. रधिया *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies¹). See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) अया for E. H. अवा and (f.) ई for E. H. इया; as M. राम्या (for रामन्वा cf. § 6, note), E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; Mg. दुर्गो, E. H. दुर्गिया *Durgá*. See my Vth Essay on Gd. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has अया, ऐया, अई, ऐ for E. H. अवा, औवा, अउ, औ of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. कन्हया, कन्हैया, कन्हई, कन्है *krishna*²);

1) E. g., sometimes ई migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काशे or केशे for E. H. कसिया *káśi* (abbreviated for *káśínáth*).

2) By way of illustration compare तलैया *pond* = Mg. तलायये = Skr. तडाककः of तडाक, with कन्हैया = Mg. कणहयये = Skr. *कृष्णाककः of कृष्णा.

गठिया, गठैया, गठई, गठै *pit*; etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बड़वा *calf*, कड़वा or कड़ुवा *bitter*; etc.

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रकः *little son*, but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. H. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70; especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (cf. § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes ऋ, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164), in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 3 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr., moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क्, but even to prolong the preceding vowel¹⁾, thus making the suff. ऋक, ईक, उक् Md. 12, 16; cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431)²⁾. In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding ऋ and compensates it by doubling क्; viz. in हडक्के *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for *हडाके, Skr. हृदयकम्, Ps. हितग्रकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हितग्रयं (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it ऋऋ (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430)³⁾ or in Mg. कऋ or ऋकऋ,

1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form केलक is much more common than its alternative केलऋ. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 के दीर्घो वा । कप्रत्यये परे पूर्वो दीर्घो वा स्यात् ॥ i. e. „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long“. The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घो (?); the example is: लाउषाके । लाउपाके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुऋयं, E. H. बहुऋवा.

ईकम्, उकम्. Thus in Mg. the suff. क् may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अए, इए, उए by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, ऊके by retaining क्; 3) अकए, इकए, उकए or आकए, ईकए, ऊकए by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अअए, इअए, उअए by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to आ, ई, ऊ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or separated (by inserting य् or व् § 69) into अवा, इवा, उवा¹); the result being the 1st and 4th E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इउ, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इउ. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2nd set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3^d and 5th sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. औवा (contracted for *अव-वा, cf. § 34), इयवा (or इअवा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उअवा (or उववा or contr. उवा § 84, exc.) by inserting य् or व्; thus constituting the E. H. 6th set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोउए or (gen.) घोउआह (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोरा or घोर्-वा; Skr. *घोटककः, Mg. (gen.) घोउअआह, E. H. घोरौवा (for *घोर्-ववा); or Skr. मिष्टकः *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टए or मिट्टके or मिट्टाके, E. H. मीठा or मिठक् or मिठक्क्; Skr. *मिष्टककः, Mg. मिट्टकए or मिट्टाकए, E. H. मिठका or मिठक्का or मिठकवा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इआ and उआ = H. H. ई and ऊ (§ 51) or इया and उवा; 2) Pr. *अकी, *इकी, *उकी²) or आकी, ईकी, ऊकी = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or आकिया, ईकिया, ऊकिया = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. *इअआ, *उअआ²), (= *इकका, *उकका) = E. H. इयवा, उअवा (or उववा). Thus Skr.

1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2.

2) When क् is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटी or मटिया; Skr. *मृत्तिकका, Mg. मट्टिअआ, E. H. मटियवा; or Skr. मिष्टा or मिष्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टा or मिट्टिआ, E. H. मीठ् or मीठो or मिठिया; Skr. *मिष्टकी, Mg. मिट्टकी or मिट्टाकी, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्कु; Skr. *मिष्टकिका, Mg. मिट्टकिआ or मिट्टाकिआ, E. H. मिठकी or मिठक्की or मिठकिया or मिठक्किया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and उ or ल. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (उ or ल) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृष्ट), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in ऋ, इ, and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the ऋ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into ऋ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the ऋ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in ए, ई, ऊ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) अए, इए, उए. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two

sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, की (see §§ 196. 198). — Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अए, इए, उए, in their contracted Gd. forms अ, ई, उ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly ए and उ were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इवा, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयवा, उअवा.

Second Group.

206.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1.	अह्	अहा	अही
	2.	आह्	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. अ, ई of the 1st set 1st group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गउह् or गउह् *fort*, from गउ *enclosure*; अहा in गउहा (or गउहा), from गउ or गउ *cavity*; m. बउरहा, f. °ही, from बउर or m. बउरा, f. °ही *mad* (W. H. बावल or बावला); m.

मिरकटहा, f. °ही *feeble* (also मिरकुटहा), from मरकट *monkey* (?); again आह् in m. f. बउराह् *mad*.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final अ of the base) अए (i. e. अकः), in E. H. अह् (for अहे); or adding pleon. अ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. अअए, E. H. अहा, Mg. f. अइआ, E. H. अही. In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. आके, f. आकी, or (eliding क्) आए, आई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. आह् (= आहं, आही). E. g., Skr. गर्तकः, Mg. गडुके or गडुए, E. H. गडह् or गडू; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. वउराह्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलअए, E. H. वउरहा, f. Mg. वाउलइआ, E. H. वउरही. By way of illustration compare E. H. घटिहा *inferior, low-priced*, Mg. घटिअए, Skr. घटितकः.

Third Group.

209. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) a.	अर् or अड्	अरा or अडा	अरी or अडी
b.	— —	अरल् or अडू	अरल् or अडू
2)	एर् or एड्	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
3)	ओर् or ओड्	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
4)	अल् or अर्	अला or अरा	अली or अरी
5) a.	एल् or एर्	एला or एरा	एली or एरी
b.	ईल् or ईर्	ईला or ईरा	ईली or ईरी
c.	इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
6) a.	ओल् or ओर्	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी
b.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
c.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
7) a.	अन्	अना	अनी
b.	उन्	उना	उनी

The forms with ड् are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with र् (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always र्. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-

taining the pleon. suff. of the 1st set 1st group are strong. The forms अर or अरू, contracted from Ap. Pr. अउउ = *अउकः, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus m. गठर or गठरा, f. °री, of गाह् (or गठा) *bundle*; चमरा, of चाम् *leather*; चीकर (or कीचर), of चीक् (or कीच्) *mud* (cf. § 133); खब्बोर, of खब्बू *glutton*; टुकरा, f. °री, of टूक् (Skr. स्तोक) *piece*; पटरा, f. °री, of पट (or पटा) *board*; पलंगरा, f. °री, of पलंग् *bedstead*; बकरा, f. °री or m. f. बकरल् *calf, colt*, of बक् (or बक्का) *young*; भूखर, of भूख् (or भूखा) *hungry*; भुलकर, of भूलक् *forgetful*; मोटरा, of मोट् *bundle*; मेहरार, of मेहर *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as सैकरा *a hundred*, of *सैक् (A. Mg. सयक्क, Skr. शतक); टोकरा *basket*, of *टोक्; थोर or थोरा, f. °री *little*, of *थो (Pr. थोअ, Skr. स्तोक, cf. § 97); कोकरा or कोरा *boy* and कोकरी or कोरी *girl*, of *कोक् or *कौ (see § 198 exc.); केरा, f. केरी *goat*, of *के (Mg. क्वाय, Skr. क्वाग); अगारी *front*, of *आगा (Skr. अग्र); पछारी *back*, of *पाक्का (Skr. पश्च); पहार *mountain* and पहारा, *multiplication-table*, of *पहा (Skr. प्रथित *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus बकेरा *colt*, बकेरी *filly*, of बक् (or बक्का) *young*; घनेर or घनेरा, f. °री, of घन् *much*; गडोरा, of गाड् (or गडा) *pit*.

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus मोटल् or मोटला, f. °ली, of मोट् (or मोटा) *fat*; जेठरा, f. °री, of जेह् (or जेठा) *eldest*; रसरा, f. °री, of *रस्स् or रस्ता *cord*; मुहरा *vanguard*, मुहरी *cuff, bore of a gun*, of मुह् *mouth*; हथल् or हथरी, of हाय् or हया *handle*; सुतला or सुतरा, f. °री *string*, of सूत् *thread*; परला, f. °ली, of पार *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as अगला, f. ली *former*, of *आग (Skr. अग्र; Ap. Pr. अगलउ H. C. 4, 341); मउली *mother*, of M. माउ, E. H. माई (Skr. मातृ, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5th set in पतील् or पतीला or पतिला, of पात् *pot, pan*; खपरेल्, of खपर (or खपरा) *tile* (see § 175, note); मुरेला, of मोर *peacock*; सपेला, of साप् *snake*; अथेला, of आध् *one half*; पइला, of पाय् *a quarter*;

श्रकेला or इकेला, of एक one, solitary. The 6th set in सपोला, of साप् snake; कंकरोला, of ककरू (or ककरी) gourd; बतोला, of बात् talk; बाँसुली or बाँसुरी flute, of बाँस् bamboo (see § 128); बाँकुरा swaggerer, of बाँक् fop; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अगिला foremost, of अग (Skr. अग्र); मकेला or मकिला or मकोला middle, of *माक् (Skr. मध्य); पहिल् or °ला last, of *पाक् (Skr. पश्च); पहिल् or °ला first (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् of this kind, तइसन् of that kind; कइसन् of which kind, जइसन् of which kind, of *अइस्, *तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; ऐतना, f. °नी this much, ओतना, f. °नी that much; तेतना, f. °नी so much; केतना, f. °नी how much; जेतना, f. °नी as much, of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् or अपुना or अपना, f. °नी own, of *आप् (Skr. आत्मीय), see § 111; तवन्, f. तउनी he, that; कवन्, f. कउनी who; जवन्, f. जउनी which, of *तेव्, *केव्, *जेव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: छोना, f. छोनी young of an animal, from *छौ, see § 210; थुयना, f. °नी, of थोय् mouth of an animal; जामुन्, of जाम् rose-apple, see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बह् or बहा is any young animal, but बहरा is a calf or colt and बहेरा a colt; मकेली or मकोली a kind of carriage of middling size; मिठरी a particular kind of sweetmeat; etc. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला a peachick; सपोला a young snake; चँखरी a wink, lit. a small चँख् or eye. Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरा a certain jewel of copper color (lit. like ताम् or copper); ललरी a false stone resembling a लाल् or ruby; पातुर or पतुरा thin, weak, lit. like a पात् or leaf. Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. °री or °ली idol, doll, lit. a little or like a पूत् son; चीलर or चीलहर louse, lit. a small or like a चील् hawk. — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, पलंगरी, पटरी, टुकररी, टोकररी, मोटररी, पतीली, सुतली, रसररी, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender

(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix; for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e. g., गठरा *large bundle*, गठरी *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always एरो for एलो; M. has sometimes ह for ड (§ 217), and S. sometimes ड for ल, as in लिखंदु *writer* from लिखंदो, but generally लु, as डिठलु *seen* from डिठो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. लु or डु to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. एला (e. g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses डो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e. g., Mw. लिख्यो *part.* and लिख्योडो *adj.*, N. लिख्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिख्याको *adj. written*.

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. अडे, f. अडो (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. अ added, m. अडए, f. अडिआ. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. अड् or अर and m. अडा or अरा, f. अडो or अरो; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गठर; Mg. गंठडए, E. H. गठरा; Mg. गंठडिआ, E. H. गठरी. 2) The same, with the pleon. अ added to the base of the word, m. अअडे, f. अअडो and m. अअडए, f. अअडिआ. These, by inserting य् (§ 69) and contracting अय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एड् or एर and m. एडा or एरा, f. एडो or एरो; or by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting अव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओड् or ओर and m. ओडा or ओरा, f. ओडो or ओरो; e. g., Ap. Mg. घणअडे or घणयडे, E. H. घनेर; Ap. Mg. वच्छअडए or वच्छयडए, E. H. बछेरा; Ap. Mg. वच्छअडिआ or वच्छयडिआ, E. H. बछेरी; again Ap. Mg. गडुअडए or गडुवडए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोरा. 3) Mg. m. अले or अले, f. अली or अली or, with pleon. अ added, m. अलए or अलए, f. अलिआ

or अलिम्बा. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. अल् or अर् and m. अला or अरा, f. अली or अरी; thus Mg. नवल् new (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल्; Mg. एकल् (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) solitary, E. H. इकला or इकरा; Mg. एकलिम्बा, E. H. इकली or इकरी; again Mg. पीअल् yellow (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पीला or पीरा (§ 97); Mg. अंधल् blind (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. अंधला or अंधरा; Mg. पत्रल् dish (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्रल् or पत्रर्; Mg. बिज्जुलिम्बा lightning (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. विद्युत्), E. H. बिज्जुली or बिज्जुरी; Ap. Mg. अगल् anterior (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल् or इले, f. इली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल् or इल्, f. इलिम्बा or इलिम्बा. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. म. मज्जिल् or मज्जिल् middle (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मज्जिलिम्बा or मज्जिलिम्बा, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पठमिल् (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेजिल् (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरी; Mg. f. तेजिलिम्बा, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पत्रिल् or पत्रिल् dish, vessel (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतीला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल् or उले, f. उली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल् or उल्, f. उलिम्बा or उलिम्बा. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or उल् or उल्, and m. ओला or उला or उला, f. ओली or उली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. म. मज्जिल् middle (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला; Ap. Mg. f. मज्जिलिम्बा, E. H. मकेली; Mg. मुहुल् (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुख), E. H. मुहुरा vanguard; Mg. हत्युलिम्बा (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) handle, E. H. ह्युरी or ह्युरी; Mg. अपुल् (see §§ 60. 111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेजिल् (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. पा, f. पिम्बा, n. पात्रं. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पा (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पिम्बा, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अप्पा (H. C. 2, 153) stands for *अप्पा = अपुल् (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्

(or ल्), as in E. H. जामुन् (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्, इल and उल्, उल are modifications of original forms एल and ओल, and that the latter are contractions of अयल and अवल, formed, by the insertion of य् and व्, from अल and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. अल. The latter (अल) itself is, probably, a mere modification of अड, through the common interchange of ड् and ल् (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. विजुडी *lightning* for Pr. विजुली¹). As to the origin of अड, see § 218. Of the change of अड to अड, now almost universal in W. Gd., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहरं or दीहं *long* (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दोर *a long while ago*; Pr. बाहिरं or बाहिं *external* (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिस्), E. H. m. f. बाहिर, m. बाहिरा, f. °री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. र् is a cerebral (= ॠ, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. ल and र (i. e. ॠ), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ट (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कटकः *crab*, Pr. कक्कुडो or कक्कुडमो, E. H. केँकर or केँकरा) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. ड, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Ps. Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटै or उटै (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटो *a strip of leather* = Skr चर्म + पत्रिका; बाम्हनेटा *young bráhmaṇ* = Pr. बम्हणा + विदुमो (*bráhmaṇ's son*); हिरणोटा *fawn* = हिरण + पुत्र. B. has आटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ट (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृश *like*, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह; e. g., in एदृहं (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. ईदृशम् (lit. *इयादृश = इयत् + दृश); and in

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक° (or मध्यम°), Mg. *मङ्कमडे = *मङ्कमले = *मङ्कयले = *मङ्कले = मङ्किल्ले or मङ्किले, E. H. मकेल् or मकिल्.

Ap. Pr. it occurs as *उो* or *उु*; e. g., in *एवउो* or *एवउु* (H. C. 4, 407) = Skr. **एवादृशः* (from Ved. *ईवत्* or Skr. *एवम्*). These Ap. forms *उो* and *उु* are, evidently, contractions for **उहो* and *उहु* resp., where *उ* would easily arise from the Skr. *दृ* (just as Pr. *उ* from Skr. *दृ* H. C. 2, 36. 37) and *ह* would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. *इते* or *इत्ये* here = Ap. *इत्तहे* (E. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. *उो* and *उु*, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial *उ* would be (as usual) liable to change to *ऌ* or *ॡ*, *ल्* or *र्*, and *न्*. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2. 4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. *उ* or *ल* may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *froh* and *fröhlich*, *krank* and *kränklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *tödlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gd.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms *ढा*, *ढी* (for *उा*, *उी*), which have preserved the original *ह* of the Ap. Pr. **हहो*, **उहो*, as in M. *तेवढा* (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. *तेवउु*.

2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gd., but were full nouns in Pr.

First Group.

220. Set. 1. Fem. अई. Set. 2. Fem. आई.

Both, containing the suff. ई of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus अई, in हलुक्कई *lightness*, of हलुक्क *light*; ठंई *coldness*, of ठं *cold*; सधुअई *simplicity*, of सधुआ *simple*; भरियई *heaviness*, of भरिया *heavy*; etc. Again आई, in भलाई *goodness*, of भला *good*; बडाई *greatness*, of बडा *great*; मिठाई *sweetness*, of मीठा *sweet*; गोलाई *roundness*, of गोला *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindí (see Man. 112). As to S. see Tr. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in आ, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in ऊ. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in आया, and आया is vocalized to इआ (cf. § 121); thus बडा *great*, lg. f. बडया, whence बडिआई *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Ba. II, 79). The आ in such forms is anomalous for अ, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous आ; but E. H. has regularly अ; e. g., W. H. गहूआइ, but E. H. गहूअई *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds आई to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. ता; as H. H. कोमलताई *comeliness*; योग्यताई or जोगताई *worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddhita ता (fem.), in Pr. दा or आ (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. क superadded, it is Skr. तिका, Pr. दिआ or इआ or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अइआ, and Gd. अई (§ 51). And with pleon. अ (= क) added to the base we have Pr. अअइआ, contracted in Gd. आई. Thus Skr. मिष्टता or *मिष्टतिका, Pr. मिट्टइआ, E. H. मिठई; and Skr. *मिष्टकतिका, Pr. मिट्टअइआ, E. H. मिठाई; again Skr. *साधुकतिका, Pr. साधुअइआ, E. H. सधुअई; etc. This derivation is

illustrated by E. H. अर्द्धा *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. अर्द्धा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416), Skr. अर्धतृतीया.

Second Group.

224. Set. 1. Masc. आउ or आव्. Set 2. Masc. आन्.

Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव् or ऊँचान् *height*, of ऊँचा *high*; गहिराउ or गहिराव् or गहिरान् *depth*, of गहिरा *deep*; ओँडाउ or ओँडाव् or ओँडान् *depth*, of ओँडा *deep*; चौराउ or चौराव् or चौरान् *breadth, width*, of चौरा (H. H. चौड़ा) *broad, wide*; लम्बाउ or लम्बाव् or लम्बान् *length*, of लम्बा *long*. The forms in आन् are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

Note: There are also the ordinary forms in आई (§ 229); as ऊँचाई, गहिराई, लम्बाई, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E. H., but introduced from the W. H.; and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. पी, पणी §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.; also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. ञा or neut. ञं for Skr. neut. त्वम्, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally आइणि for आणि, the former of which, probably, stands for अयानि and is to be explained like the P. इआई for आई, see § 222. In S. the suff. आनि may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as अहाणि *whiteness*, क्राणि *blackness*, बडाणि *greatness*; etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) तं or त्तां (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अतं or अत्तां or (eliding त, see § 153) अत्तं or अत्तां (see Spt. A. 52. वत्तस्त्वत्ता = Skr. वयस्यकत्वेन) or in Ap. Pr. अउ or अत्ता (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form अउ or, with pleon. अ added to the base, अअउ contracts in H. to आउ or आव्;

and the Ap. form अग्रणु contracts to H. अग्न. E. g., Skr. उच्चकत्वम् *height*, Pr. उच्चग्रतं or उच्चग्रं, Ap. उच्चग्रउ, E. H. उँचाउ or उँचाव्; again Skr. *उच्चत्रनम्, Pr. उच्चत्रणं or उच्चग्रणं, Ap. उच्चग्रणु, E. H. उँचान्. S. has, apparently, preserved the त्र in मुखितणु¹) *duty of a मुखी headman* (Tr. 61), but not in चोकिराटु *boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of चोकर and वटु (Ap. for Skr. वृत्तम्).

Third Group.

228.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a. एषा	b. ए or पा	—
	2) a. एषन्	b. एन् or एना	एनी

The suff. in अ and ई are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with ए are added to weak, those with ए to strong bases; but एना, एनी to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms एषन् or एन्, however, are those commonly employed. Thus ए in बृथाप् *old age*, of बृथा *old*; एषा or एषा in बृथापा *old age*, छोटाएषा or छोटापा *smallness*, of छोटे or छोटा *small*; मोटाएषा or मोटापा *fatness*, of मोटे or मोटा *fat*; रंडाएषा *widowhood*, of रँड *widow*; etc.; एषन् or एन् in बडाएषन् or बडाएषन् *greatness* (cf H. C. 4, 437), of बडा or बडा *great*; सुधाएषन् *simplicity*, of सुधा *simple*; गरुएषन् or गरुएषन् *heaviness*, of *गरु or गरु *heavy*; बालकएषन् *childhood*, of बालक *child*, etc.; एना or एनी in छोटाएषना *smallness*; लुचएषना or लुचएषनी *profligacy*, of लुच् *profligate*; ज्ञानएषनी *knowingness, knowledge*, of ज्ञान् (Skr. ज्ञानी § 191) *knowing*; पात्रीएषना *profligacy*, of पात्री *profligate*, etc.

Note: Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in खुजलाएषन् *itching*, from खुजलाव् *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun *खुजला (cf. M. खाजरा Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. खुजली.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. तणु (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. मुखितणु scl. वटु.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. प fem., पो m.; पाई f., पी f., पणु m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण् m., पणु n. (Ed. 14); P. पा m., पुण् or पुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्कपुणा *business of a उचक्का pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पाना; O. has पण् m., पणिआ f. (e. g., भाँउपणिआ *roguery*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or आमि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भाँडामि *roguery*, ढिलामि *laziness* of ढीला, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) प् or प्पां (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. अ added, प्पं or प्पाअं. The Ap. प् and प्पं become in E. H. प् and प्पा or पा respectively; and the Ap. प्पां and प्पाअं become E. H. प्पन् or पन् and पना, whence E. H. makes fem. पनी. Thus Skr. वृद्धत्वम्, Ap. बुद्धप्पं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. बुद्धाप; Skr. *वृद्धत्वकं, Ap. बुद्धप्पअं, E. H. बुद्धपा or बुद्धापा; Skr. *वृद्धत्वनम्, Ap. बुद्धप्पपां, E. H. बुद्धप्पन् or बुद्धापन्; Skr. *वृद्धत्वनकम्, Ap. बुद्धप्पपाअं, E. H. बुद्धापना or बुद्धापनी; etc. The आ in the E. H. forms आपा, आपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct प्प, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that आ to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भलय = Pr. भल्लअ = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the प् has been apparently softened to म्.

Fourth Group.

232. Set. Com. gen. Fem.

1) वन् or वत् वंती or वती

2) मन् or मत् मंती or मती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (ac वंता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वन् or वत् in धनवन् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भगवन् or वत् *faithful*, of भगत् *faith*; सोगवन् or वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow*; पुनवन् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue*; जयवन्त् or वत् *victorious*, of जय् *victory*; मानवन्त् or ०वत् *proud*, of मान् *pride*; भगवन्त् or ०वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भग् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मन्त् or मत् in सिरिमन्त् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent*, of सिरि *excellence*; हनुमन्त् or ०मत् *monkey*, of हन् *jaw*; भक्तिमन्त् or ०मत् *devoted*, of भक्ति *devotion*; पुनमन्त् or ०मत् *virtuous*, of पुन् *virtue*; etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवन्ती *wealthiness*, of धनवन्त् *wealthy*; सोचवन्ती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवन्त् *thoughtful*, of सोच् *thought*, etc.; see §§ 256. 257.

235. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रूपवान् *beautiful*, f. रूपवती; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भगवती *the goddess Gaudī*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वानु m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सीलवानु, f. सीलवानी, E. H. m. f. सीलवन्त् or ०वत्; H. H. m. सीलवान्, f. सीलवती *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडीवान् or गाडीवान् *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वन्त and मन्त (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वन्ते and मन्ते, f. वन्ती and मन्ती; in E. H. m. f. वन्त् and मन्त् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. अ added, in Mg. f. वन्तिआ and मन्तिआ, E. H. वन्ती and मन्ती or वती and मती (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धणवन्ते, E. H. धनवन्त् or ०वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धणवन्ती, E. H. धनवन्त् or ०वत्; again Skr. f. *धनवतिका, Mg. धणवन्तिआ, E. H. धनवन्ती or ०वती (scl. वृत्ति condition). The S. वानु, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वन्ते, f. वन्ती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मानु, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मन्ते, मन्ती.

Fifth Group.

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. आइत् (§ 82). Masc. अइता or ऐता.

Fem. अइती or ऐती (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessional adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus ढलाइत् shield-bearer, ढलइती or ढलैती office of sh.^o, from ढाल् shield; बरकाइत् spearsman, of बरका spear; कड्खाइत् warrior-bard, of खड्खा war-song; लिंगाइत् a ling-worshipper, of लिंगे phallus; चर्चाइत् talker, of चर्चा talk; नताइत् kinsman, of नाता kin; कराइत् or करइता or करैता the name of a very poisonous snake, of कारा or काला black; उकाइत् robber and उकइती or उकैती profession of robbery, of डाका robbery; बहुताइत् (fem.) abundance, of बहुत् much.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S. they are: 1) m. एतो, f. एती (for *अइतो, *अइती) added to weak bases, as पुत्रेतो having a son, of पुत्र son (base पुत्र, Skr. पुत्र); and 2) m. आइतो, f. आइती added to strong bases, as वाराइतो opportune, of वारो time (base वार = वारम्, Skr. वारक). P. has occasionally the form ऐत् or ऐद् (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals इत् or इन् are mentioned in close connection with वन्त and मन्त. The latter, incl. of the final अ of the base, would be अवन्त and अमन्त or (eliding व् and म्) अमन्त, or (inserting य्, § 69) अयन्त, or (vocalizing य्, § 121) अयन्त, or (again detaching the अ of the base) इन्त. Thus Pr. मापाइतो or मापाइतो proud (H. C. 2, 159) would be = मापायन्तो = मापाअन्तो, मापावन्तो = Skr. मानवान्. With pleon. अ added to the suff., they are Pr. m. अइन्तओ, f. अइन्तिआ; S. m. एतो, f. एती. Or with pleon. अ added to the base, Pr. m. अअइन्तो, f. अअइन्ती, E. H. m. or f. आइत्; and with pleon. अ added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. अअइन्तओ, f. अअइन्तिआ; S. m. आइतो, f. आइती; E. H. m. अइता or ऐता, f. अइती or ऐती. — There are, however, a few

words of a similar form, such as चढाइत् or चढइता or चढैता *rider*, *trooper*, दंगाइत् or f. दंगइती or दंगैती *quarrelsome*, अकडाइत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चढ् mount, दङ्ग quarrel, अकड् strut; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चढाव्, दङ्गाव्, अकडाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आपयन्, in Pr. आवेन्तो or आवन्तो. The latter would change to आमन्तो, आयन्तो, आइन्तो or आइन्तो, and in Gd. आडत्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाइन्तो *angry* and पापाइन्तो *alive*, end in आइन्तो with long *á*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कव्वइन्तो *poetical* and मापाइन्तो *proud*, indeed, end in अइन्तो with *ã*; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव to अव, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

Sixth Group.

241.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आल् or आर्	आला or आरा	आली or आरी
	2)	आलु or आरु	आलू or आरू	आलू or आरू

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with ल् and र्, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोदाल् or तोदार् or m. °रा, f. री *pot-bellied*, of तोदू *belly*; रसाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of रस् *juice*; पखाल् f. or पखारा or °ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पख side; रेताला *sandy*, of रेत *sand*; दुधारू or दधाल् *milch-cow*, of दूध *milk* (M. दुधालू), etc. Again the 2nd set in दयालु or दयालू m. or f. *merciful*, of दय (Skr. दया) *mercy*; लजालु or लजालू *bashful*, of लाज *shame*; perhaps also कगरालू *quarrelsome* of कगरा *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.

Note: In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेहर or मेहरारू *woman*; घड़ी or घड़िया f. or घड़ियाल् or घड़ियार m. *clock*, *gong*. In others, where the suff. exists only with रू, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हारू *acquaintance*, etc.; see §§ 272. 273.

243. *Affinities.* These suff. occur only as an exception in the E. Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a rule, क्, sometimes ड्; thus केसाक् or केसाक् *hairy*, लेळाड् *frolicsome*, see Man. 114. G. also has क्; as रेताक् or रेताक् *sandy*, S. has ल् or रू, like E. H., and sometimes ड् (Tr. 66. 69); as धणारू *herdsman*, जवालू (*wheat*) *mixed with barley*; साज्जड् *right-handed*. P. has क् or ल्; as उन्नाक् *woollen*, कसाला *distressed*; see Bs. II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. आल and आलु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. आल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. आले, f. आली and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलए, f. आलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आरू or आल् and m. आरा or आला, f. आरी or आली. E.g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. रसाल् or रसारू; Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुडाला or °ली, E. H. दुधाल् or °रू; Skr. *तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोंदालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोंदारू; f. Skr. *तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोंगलिआ, E. H. तोंदारी. The suff. आलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. आलू and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलुए, f. आलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. आलु and m. or f. आलू. E.g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयालु or °रू; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लज्जालू or °रू. As to the origin of the suff. आल and आलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृश like; see § 251.

Seventh Group.

245.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अइल् or अइरू	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐली or ऐरी
	2)	इल् or इरू	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
	3)	अउल् or अउरू	औला or औरा	औली or औरी
	4)	उल् or उरू	उला or उरा	उली or उरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others र्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1st set in दंगडल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंगा *quarrel*; गंठैला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गाँठ *knot*; पनैला, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पथरडल् m. or f., or पथरैला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पथर *stone*; उँकैला *having a sting*, of उँक् *sting*; खपरडल् *a tiled house*, of खपरा *tile*; बोक्डल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधडल् *milch-cow*, of दूध *milk*; etc. Again the 2nd set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत *sand*; बोकिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3^d set in पथडर् m. or f., or पथौरा, f. °री *full of stones*, of पथर *stone*; उँकडर् m. or f., or उँकोरा, f. °री *having a sting, a wasp*, of उँक् *sting*; रसडर् m. or f., or रसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*; घमौरी or घमौली *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth*; बकौला *hood* and बकौली *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4th set in पातुर *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *vessel*; पातुर *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*; बाडर् or बडरा, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावला), of बाय् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occasionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °ली *wild, savage*, of बन् *a wood*; घरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of घर *house*; कखोरी or कखौली *tumour in the armpit*, of काख् *armpit*.

247. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or ऊ for औ, and in H. H. also अ for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have ऋ, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलौ or ईलौ, H. H. एला or ईला or अला, M. एळा or ईळा, G. एम्मे or ईम्मे, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इरु (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँठैला, W. H. गँठैलौ *knotty*; W. H. घमौली, M. घमौळी *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr.

suff. इल् and उल् (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. अ added to the base, अइल् and अउल् or, with pleon. अ added to the suff., इल्अ, अइल्अ, उल्अ, अउल्अ, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regularly arise. Thus E. H. पथरइल् = A. Mg. पथलइल्; E. H. पथरैला = A. Mg. पथरइल्ए; E. H. पथरउल् = A. Mg. पथलउल्; E. H. पथरौरा = A. Mg. पथलउल्ए; E. H. पथुरी = A. Mg. पथुलिआ, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with one ल्; thus इल् in Skr. ग्रन्थिल *knotty*; उल् or उल in ब्रातुल or ब्रातूल *gouty*; ओल in गण्डोला *raw sugar*, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल् (or इल), by the interchange of ल् and र् (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इर (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर, except as an alternative of इल्. — As to the origin of the suff. इल् and उल् (probably from Skr. दृष्), see § 251.

Eighth Group.

249.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	एर or एइ	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
	b.		एरल् or एइल्	एरल् or एइल्
2)	a.	ओर or ओइ	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
	b.	ओर or ओइ	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with इ are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपेरा or सपेडा *snake-catcher*, of साप् *snake*; कटेरा *palings*, of काँटा *thorn*; पखेरल् *bird*, of पाख् *wing*. The second set in लरकोरा or लडकोडा *parents*, of लरिका *child*; पखौरा *shoulder-blade*, of पाख् *side*; हथोरा or हथौरा *hammer*, of हाथ् *handle*; करोरा *tax-gatherer*, of कर *tax*, etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इइयो (Tr. 70) and M. छाड्या (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेरिइयो *walker*, of पेर or पैर *foot*, बाटाड्या *guide*, of बाट *way*. — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or क् or इ; thus, sixth group, E. H. आलु or आलू, M. आकु or आकू, S. आडु or M. आउ; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐडा, M. एमा; E. H. औला, औडा, W. H. ओला or ओडा, M. ओमा. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृश, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृशकः would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहउ, whence, eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms ड्यो and ड्या would arise, as contained in S. इड्यो and M. आड्या. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एडा, एला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृश like would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively*, *prickly*, *sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

Ninth Group.

252.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	ई	—	इकी
	2)	इक्	इका	इनि or इनी

The suff. इक् and इनि are weak, the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form इया (see § 199). Thus, 1st set in संगी or सघती *friend, companion*, of संग् or सघत् *companionship*; खारी or कुनही *enemy*, of खार् or कुनह् *enmity*; बकवादी or बतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवाद or बतोला *talk*; सुखी *happy*, of सुख् *happiness*; दुखी *miserable*, of दुख् *pain*; धनी *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil*; माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland*; धोबी *washerman*, of धोब् (§ 311) *washing*; हथौटी or हथौटिया *craftsman*, of हथौटी *handicraft*; बहेलिया *hunter*, of बाह् *shooting*; गडेरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दुई *belonging to*

a *Hindú* of हिन्दू *Hindú*; मराठी *bel. to a Maráthá* of मराठा *Maráthá* (man or country); अंग्रेजी *English* of अंग्रेज़ *Englishman* or *England*, etc. Again the 2nd set in धनिक् or धनिका, f. °की *wealthy*, of धन *wealth*, etc.

254. Derivatives in ई are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी, on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाषा *Bangálí* language; बहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman*; but बंगालिनि or बंगालिनी *a woman of Bangál*, बहिरिनि or बहिरिनी *a woman of a foreign country*.

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक्; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or 'इके (or इक्के § 203, footnote 1) or, with pleon. घ added, इकए; whence E. H. ई or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिकः, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनी or धनिक् or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिकः, Mg. मरहट्टिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. इय; practically it makes no difference, as Skr. इय would be Mg. इए, E. H. ई. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

Tenth Group.

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी
3) „ आइन् or आइनो „ 4) „ — आनी

The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final उ of a base is not elided, but changed to उ; हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी *a Hindú woman* of हिन्दू *Hindú*.

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus उंगरी *hillock*, of उँगूर *hill*; बनी *copse*, of बन् *wood*; बँसी *flute* (lit. *small piece of bamboo*), of बँस् *bamboo*; गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball*; डोरी *string* of डोरा *rope*; चोलो

bodice, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवार *guardian*; ढलैती *shieldbearership*, of ढलाइत *shieldbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हार *an acquaintance*; पढ़निहारी *reading or readership*, of पढ़निहार or °र *reader*; etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in आ. Thus adj.; सँची *true*, of म. सँचा; बँकी *crooked*, of म. बँका; मोठी *sweet*, of म. मोठा; भूखी *hungry*, of म. भूखा; बड़ी *great*, of म. बड़ा, etc. Or subst., झोरी or झोकरी or लरिकी *girl*, of झोरा or झोकरा or लरिका *boy*; बेटी *daughter*, of बेटा *son*; काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle*; नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather*; बकरी or झेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or झेरा *he-goat*; घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse*; भेड़ी *ewe*, of भेड़ा *ram*; कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock*; etc. Occasionally the corresponding masc. in आ is not in use (cf. § 196); as सोनारी *fem. goldsmith*, of *सोनारा or सोनार *m.*; चमारी *f. leather-worker*, of *चमारा or चमार *m.*; कोँहारी, *f. potter*, of *कोहारा or कोँहार *m.*; कहारी, *f. porter*, of *कहारा or कहार *m.*; सुतारी, *f. carpenter*, of *सुतारा or सुतार *m.*

Note: 'In a few cases the long form in इया (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुत्रिया *fem.*, of कुत्रा *dog*; डिबिया *small box*, of डिबा *box*, बुढिया *old woman*, of बूढा *old man*; but the short forms कुत्री, डिबी, बूढी also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or ऊ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons; सोनारिनि or °रिनी *f. goldsmith*, of सोनार *m.*; चमारिनि or °रिनी *f. leather-worker*, of चमार *m.*; गोवालिनि or गुव्° or गू° *f. cowherd*, of गोवाल् *m.*; घटवालिनि *ferry-woman*, of घटवाल् *m.*, etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी *f. moth*, of पातुर *m.*; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघ *tiger*; सौँधिनि or सिँधिनी *lioness*, of सौँध *lion*. Again in ई; persons; परोसिनि or °सिनी *f. neighbour*, of परोसी *m.*; बैरागिनि or °गिनी *f. ascetic*, of बैरागी; मालिनि or °नी *f. gardener*, of माली *m.*; धोबिनि or °नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी *m.*; कोठिनि or °नी *f. leper*, of कोठी, etc. Or animals; हाथिनि or हथिनी *f. elephant*, of हाथी *m.* Again in ऊ; नउइनि or नउइनी *f. barber*, of

नाउ m.; पहरइनि or °नी *watchman's wife*, of पहर~, etc.; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन् or बहिनी *sister* (masc. भाई *brother*).

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पंडाइन or °नी *wife of a पंडा a kind of brāhman*; चौब्राइन *woman of the चौब्रे caste*; दुब्राइन *woman of the दूब्रे (m.) caste*; ठकुराइन *lady of ठाकुर lord, chief*; चौधराइन *wife of a चौधरी headman*; पंडियाइन *wife of a पंडा priest*; गुरुआइन *wife of a गुरु teacher*; पंडिताइन *wife of a पंडित scholar*; बनियाइन *woman of the बनिया trader-caste*; पुरोहितानी *wife of a पुरोहित family priest*.

Note: These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहतरानी or मेहतराइन *wife of a मेहतर (pers. مهتر) sweeper*; सईसिन् *wife of a सईस् (arab. سائیس) groom*. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. *Affinities*. These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in अ; thus E. H. सेठिनि *wife of a सेठ merchant*, W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. सेठिण् or सेठिणि or सेठिणी; but E. H. कोरिनि *wife of a कोरी weaver*, W. H. कोलिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोरिणि or °रिणी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has ईण् as सेठीण्, कोळीण्, बाघीण् (*tigress*), see Man. 24. G. has एण् or अण्, as कोळण् or कोळेण्, बाघण् or बाघेण्, धोबण् or धोबेण् (*washerwoman*), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or अनी, as बाघिनी, धोबानी, कामारनी (*a fem. blacksmith*), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. *Derivation*. The original of the E. H. suff. ई is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इआ, and is contracted in E. H. to ई, as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. ई of the 1st set, 1st group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनी; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m. माली, Mg. माली, E. H. *deest* (*मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिणी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. अ added, Skr. मालिका:

(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिर्, E. H. माली; fem. Skr. मालिनिका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिणिआ, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form माली, but not a weak form *माल् or *मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनार् has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or ०रिनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोस्रालिआ, Skr. सुवर्णकाजिका fem. of सुवर्णकाजकः pleon. for ०काजः; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोस्रालिणी or ०लिणिआ = Skr. सुवर्णकाजिणी or (pleon.) ०जिका, fem. of सुवर्णकाजी (base ०काजिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनार्, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनार् might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोस्राले, Skr. सुवर्णकाजः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as बाघिनि *tigress* from m. बाघ्, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याघ्रः, 'f. व्याघ्री. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चौबाइन् it arises from Pr. चउव्रेइणी, Skr. चतुर्वेदिनी; in पँडाइन् and पंडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पँडा, पंडिया, Mg. पंडिअर्, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्रानी *wife of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्ती *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्ता, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रश्मिः or pleon. रश्मिकः (or रश्मकः of रश्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not *vice versa*, the E. H. masc. रस्ता formed from the E. H. fem. रस्ती (as Bs. II, 149), which would be an unique anomaly.

Eleventh Group.

263. Com. gen. अव्. Masc. आ or अवँ. Fem. अईँ.

The form अव् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पंचव्,

m. पचा or पचवाँ, f. पचईँ *fifth*, of पंच *five*; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवाँ, f. दसईँ *tenth*, of दस *ten*; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवाँ, f. बारहईँ *twelfth*, of बारह *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ *second*, of दुइ *two*; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवाँ *third*, of तोनि *three*; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवाँ *fourth*, of चारि *four*; छठा or छठव् or छठवाँ *sixth*, of छ *six*; बीसठा or बीसव् or बीसवाँ *twentieth*, of बीस *twenty*, etc.

265. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ईँ (S. Ch. 195); M. आवा, f. आवी, n. आवेँ or (from 19th) आवा, आवी, आवेँ (Man. 42. 44); H. H. आवँ, f. आवीँ; W. H. आवीँ, f. आवीँ; P. आवँ or अमँ, f. आवीँ or अमोँ (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमो, n. अमुँ (Ed. 48); S. ओँ, f. ईँ; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचईँ; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचवीँ, n. पाँचवेँ, but विसावा, f. विसावीँ, n. विसावेँ *twentieth*; W. H. पाँचवाँ, f. पाँचवीँ; P. पंजवाँ or पंजमँ, f. पंजवीँ or पंजमोँ; G. पांचमो, f. पाँचमो, n. पाँचमुँ; S. पंजोँ, f. पंजीँ.

266. *Derivation*. The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. म or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final अ of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमए, f. अमिआ, Ap. Mg. अमँए, f. अमिँआ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. आवँ or (contracted, after eliding म् or व्) आ; f. अईँ (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचमए or पंचमँए, E. H. पचा or पचवाँ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पंचमिआ or पंचमिँआ, E. H. पचईँ. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. बीसइअमए (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. अ to the base and be = Skr. *विशकमकः, Mg. *बीसअमए. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth*; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in चौथवाँ, छठवाँ, बीसवाँ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, छठा, बीसा, etc.

Improper Suffixes.

267. The suffixes of the following groups are in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base

does not exist in E. H.; e. g., कोँहार *potter* of *कोँह (Skr. कुम्भ, E. H. कुंभ); कँहार *porter*, of *कँह (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. काँध); रोआसा *lachrymose*, of *रोह (Skr. रोद); 2) that the various suff. (exc. आहट्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars.

Twelfth Group.

268. Com. gen. स् or सर. Masc. सरा. Fem. सरी.

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. दूसर, m. दुसरा, f. ०री *second* (lit. *twice removed*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुइ *two*; m. f. तीसर, m. तिसरा, f. ०री *third* (lit. *thrice moved*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन *three*; m. चौस् or चउस् or f. चौसरी *a field four times tilled* (lit. *four times moved or turned*).

270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E. and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds. have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. दूसौ or दूसो; P. दूस्रा or दूस्रा = Pr. दुइइअओ or दुइअओ (H. C. 1, 94. 209); S. बीओ or बीतो, G. बीतो, Pr. विइअओ (H. C. 1, 94) or बीअओ (H. C. 1, 248) or विइअओ (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीतो or तीतो, P. तीआ or तीता, S. टीओ or टीतो, G. तीतो, = Pr. तइअओ (H. C. 1, 101) or तइअओ (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. दूसरा, तीसरा.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृत: *moved*, in A. Mg. सल्लि or सल्लिअ, which in Gd. becomes सर by the successive quiescence of the final अ and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स् by the elision of र (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सरा is = A. Mg. सल्लिअ, Skr. सृतकः; and f. सरी = A. Mg. सल्लिअ, Skr. सृतिका. E. g., Skr. *द्विस्सृतः (i. e., द्विः + सृत), A. Mg. दूसल्लिअ, E. H. दूसर.

Thirteenth Group.

272.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अर or र	अरा or रा	अरी or री
	2)	आर	आरा	आरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195; note.

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमारू or m. हमरा, f. °री *our* (lit. of us), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोहारू or m. तोहरा, f. °री *your* (lit. of you), of तोह् *you*; m. f. मोरू or m. मोरा, f. °री *mine*, of *मो *I*; m. f. तोरू or m. तोरा, f. °री *thine*, of *तो *thou*. Again in nouns; e. g., m. f. गँवारू or m. गँवरा, f. °री *rustic, vulgar*, of गँव् *village*; m. f. चिन्हारू or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. of a mark, marked), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; भिखारू *beggar*, of भीख् *alms*; perhaps also हथियारू *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. घसियारा, f. °री *grassier*, of घसिया (or घास्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. °री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठी) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भट्ट).

274. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes करू, करा, करी, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix करू still exists in the M. गाँवकरू *villager* (Man. 113), खोडकरू (H. खोडिल्) *mischievous*, of खोड् (Man. 114); चिपलुंकरू *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. अरू, आरू, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घररू *domestic or of a house*, of घर *house*. H. H. has हमारा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवारू *villager*.

Fourteenth Group.

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आरू	—	आरा	आरी
	2)	—	आरिनि	आरी	आरिनी
	3)	कारू	—	कारा	कारी

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something“. They are of a limited number. Thus the 1st set in सोनारू, f. सोनारी or °रिनि or °रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोहारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *potter*, of कुम्ह् *pot*; कहारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *porter*, of कौध् *shoulder*; चमारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; अंधारू or अंधियारू or अंधारा, f. °री, or अंधियारा m.,

f. °री *dark* or *darkness*, of अंधा *dark*. The 2nd set in पुजारी, f. पुजारिनि or °रिनो *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3^d set in कुटकार or °रा or °री *deliverance*, of कुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation.* The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकारः or °री, Mg. कुंभआले or °ली or कुंभाले or °ली, E. H. कोहारू (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. e., °रिन् + क), Mg. पूजआलिह, E. H. पुजारी, N. पूजाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gds. As to the fem., see § 259.

Fifteenth Group.

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	क्	का	की
	2)	कै	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. °की *wooden*, of काठ *wood*; घरकै or घरका, f. °की *domestic*, of घर *house*; बनकै or बनका, f. की *wild*, of बन् *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gd. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठु; वेढीचो *of the jungle*, of वेढि (Tr. 91); again Konkani ला in M. तेथला *of that place*, of तेथे there (Man. 113); again G. णो in S. चोराणो *thievish*, of चोरु *thief*, or बातूणो *oral*, of वातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोलका *eloquent*, of बोल् *word* (Man. 107), मारका *given to beating*, of मार *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a पाटिल् village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पिउका *paternal*, of पिउ *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a हारी peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. रो in M. खाजरा *itch-producing*, of खाज् (Man 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोहृ is not गोहे but गोहृ; similarly of वेष्टि it is not वेष्टी, but वेष्टि (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), उ in उपो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अय or उय, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भलेपण् goodness, of भला + पण् (see § 231).

Sixteenth Group.

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	—	आस्
	2)	आसा	आसी

The form आस् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything“, and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous“, from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् *desire to sleep, sleepiness*; m. निँदासा, f. °सी *sleepy*, of नीँदू *sleep*; उँदास् *sleepiness*, °सा m., °सी f. *sleepy*, of उँदू *sleep*; मुतास् f. *desire to make water*, °सा m., °सी f. *desirous of d^{uo}*, of मूत् *urin*; हगास् *desire to stool*, °सा m., °सी f. *desirous of d^{uo}*, of हग *excrement*; चुदास् f. *lasciviousness*, °सा m., °सी f. *lascivious*, of चोदू *copulation*; पेदास् *gluttony*, of पेदू *belly*; कटासा m., °सी f. *inclined to bite, snappish*, of काटू *bite*. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोआस् f. *inclination to weep*, रोआसा m., °सी f. *tearful*. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. *sweetness* (lit. *desire or tendency to be sweet*), of मीहू *sweet*; उँचास् f. *height*, of उँच् *high*; जुरास् *coldness*, of जुर (H. H. जुड़) *cold*.

283. *Affinities and Derivation.* These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gds. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वॉस् or वॉह् (fem.) *desire* = Skr. वाञ्छा, and वॉसा or वॉहा *desirous* = Skr. वाञ्छकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चुदवॉसा *libidinous*. In

the suff., *व्* is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to *आ*. Thus Skr. निद्रावाञ्छा, Pr. निद्रवञ्छा, E. H. निद्रास्; Skr. रोदवाञ्छकः, Mg. लोम्रवञ्छ or लोम्रमञ्छ, E. H. रोम्रासा. The change of *ह्* to *स्* is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun *आशा* *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पियास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिपासा, Pr. पिआसा, and E. H. पियासा m., °सो f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिपासितकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिपासुकः, which would be H. पियास्). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. बुभुक्षा, Pr. बुहुक्खा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखो f. *hungry* = Skr. बुभुक्षितकः m., °तिका f. — The two words कपास् f. and कटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and Pr. वासा f. or वासं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

Seventeenth Group.

284.	Set.	Fem.	Fem.
	1)	आहट् or आवट्	औटी
	2)	आवत्	औती

The forms in *ई* are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form *आहट्* is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of मीठ् *sweet*; गरमाहट् *warmth*, of गरम् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; खराहट् *purity*, of खरा *pure*; तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तीत् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रुखाहट् *roughness*, of रूख् *rough*; कडुआहट् *bitterness*, of कडुआ *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावत् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the चमार caste*; अपौती *patrimony*, of बाप् *father*; सगौती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of सगा *kin, related* (= Skr. सार्ग *of the same origin*, hence *animal* as opp. to *vegetable*

(cf. § 120); हिनौती *humility, supplication*, of हीन् *destitute*; हथौटी *handicraft, dexterity*, of हात् *hand*.

287. *Affinities.* These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms अटु or आतु (or अत्) or आठो (probably for *आटो), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिराटु *boyhood*, of चोकरु; डिअपातु *debtor*, of डिअपाओ *debt*; भयतु *porter*, of भरी *load*; पापयाठो *damp*, of पापाओ *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवट् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113), or contracted to ईट् (= *आवट्) as in रागोई *angry*, of राग् (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns वृत्ति fem. or वृत्त neut., and वार्ता fem. or वार्त्त neut.; all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. वट्टी or वट्टे (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter वत्ता (or वट्टा) and वत्तं (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. वट्टी or वट्टा and, with pleon. अ added, वट्टिआ become in H. वट् and वटी, or, with pleon. अ added to the base, आवट् and औटी (contracted for अवटी or अउटी, cf. § 78, for आवटी, § 25) or, with ह् substituted for व् (see § 69), आहट्. Similarly Pr. वत्ता or वत्तिआ become in H. आवत् or औती. Thus Skr. *सत्यकवृत्तिः, Pr. सच्चअवट्टी or सच्चअवट्टिआ, E. H. संचावट् or सचौटी; again Skr. चर्मकारकवृत्तिः or °वार्ता, Pr. चम्मआरअवट्टी or °वत्ता, E. H. चमरावट् or °वत् (for *चमारावट्, cf. § 25). The S. m. आटु arises similarly from the Skr. neut. वृत्तम्. — Those suff. which form adj., as S. आतु, M. अवट्, arise from the Skr. m. वृत्तः or वार्त्तः, Pr. वट्टो or वत्तो. Thus E. H. गुबरौता or टा *a beetle found in old cow-dung*, from गोवर् + वृत्तकः *living in gobar or cow-dung*. — In the E. H. चिकनावट् or °वत् (fem.) *clayey soil*, there is probably an exchange of म् and व्, see § 134, 2; E. H. also चिकनी माटी. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental त्, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is ट्; and vice versa.

Eighteenth Group.

289. Com. gen. स्. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form स् is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness“. Thus आपुस् f. (H. H. आपस्) *kindred* (lit. *like self*); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे^ॐ *among themselves*, of आपु *self*; पेसा m. *a copper coin, the fourth part of an anná*, of पाइ or पाई *a pice* (lit. *like the pída or quarter of a weight of gold*, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. *like water*), of पानी *water*; m. ऐकसा, f. ०सी *similar, identical* (lit. *like one*), of ऐक् *one*.

291. *Affinities.* These suff. exist. in all Gds. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. से^ॐ or, less curtailed, com. gen. सर; e. g., काकसर, c. g. *blackish*, of काक *black*; m. लहानसा, f. ०सी, n. ०से^ॐ *littleish*, of लहान् *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सौ, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. उँचा सा पहाड़ *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिड़ियाँ *rather blue birds*, बड़े से घोड़े *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91)¹). — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दशा *a condition like mine*; मुक् सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पंडित् की सी बोली *speech like that of a pandit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा, सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हाथी ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as छोटे ऐक् (usually spelled छोटेक्) or छोटे ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोरेक् or थोरे ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतेक् or बहुत् ऐसन् *rather many*.

1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. शस् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश *like*, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111. 458). Skr. सदृश: becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिए (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिहे, with ह् as in तेदृहं H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = *तइहु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृश:). The latter becomes in Gd. *सरिअ, *सरि, whence M. सर or, by eliding र (cf. Ap. तइसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृश:, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. m. सदृशक: = A. Mg. सरिसए or Ap. Mg. *सइअए, contracted *सइअ or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिआ, Ap. *सइइआ, E. H. contracted *सइई or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भया or भइआ *been* = Mg. भविअए, Skr. भूत:; E. H. गा or गया or गइआ, Ap. Mg. गइअए, Skr. गत:; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कइअउ, Skr. कृत:; see § 307; E. H. स् or सर = A. Mg. सरिए, Skr. सृत: (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस ऐक् *about ten, some ten*.

Nineteenth Group.

293. Com. gen. वार or वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवार or गोवाल् c. g. or गुवारा or °ला m. or गुवारी or °ली or गुवारिनि or °लिनि f. *cow-keeper, cowherd*, of गो *cow*; घटवार or °वाल् c. g., °वारी or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *wharf-keeper, wharfinger*, of घाट *landing-place*; नाओवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *boat-keeper, boat-man*, of नाओ *boat*; म. कपडावारा or °ला, f. °री or °ली *cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant*; दिल्लीवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *belonging to or native of Delhi*, etc. Even with foreign words; as बक्सवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *box-keeper, pedlar*.

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उयाला, f. उयाली; e. g., B. दूपिउयाला *holding or wearing a दूपि cap*) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,

दूधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gd. they are very commonly used. S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., घरवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वामो m., वामी f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवामो, टोपीवामो.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लए, f. °लिआ, E. H. m. गोवारू or °रा, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °ली (in अनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लिनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259. 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

First Group.

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अता. Fem. अती (or अति). The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. H., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

Note: Observe, in adding these suff., that ए is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो *be*.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठत् *reading*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूअत् or चूवत् *dripping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोअत् or रोवत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in इ is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as कर्तिस् (f.) *thou didst*, of कर्ति + स्; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);

O. *अन्त् (only in the obl. f. अन्ते, Sn. 28); H. H. m. अता, f. अती; W. H. m. अतु (Br.) or अतो (Mw.), f. अती; P. m. अदा or अंदा, f. अदी or अंदी (Ld. 24), N. अदो, f. अदी; S. अंदो or ईंदी, f. अंदी or ईंदी (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अतो, f. अती, n. अन्तु (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अन् or m. अता, f. अती, n. अन्ते (Man. 63. 73); O. H. m. अंतो or अन्त् (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., कर्तु doing, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अन् (or अन्त); in Pr. अन्त (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Sr. Pr. अन्द् (H. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. m. अन्ते, f. अन्ती (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. अ added, m. अन्तए, f. अन्तिआ; and E. H. m. f. अन्त् or m. अता, f. अती (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्ती; A. Mg. हसंत, f. हसंती; O. H. m. f. हसन्त्; E. H. हसत्; again Skr. *हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसंतए, E. H. हसता; fem. Skr. *हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसन्तिआ, E. H. हसती. — The S. अंदो, P. अंदा, N. अदो, Gw. अदो or अंदो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अन्द्ओ. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अन्त् (or अन्तु) by the elision of न्? (see § 153). — The E. H. खात् is = Mg. खन्ते or खाअन्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 228); E. H. देत् = Mg. देन्ते (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = *दयन्ते, Skr. ददत् (or *ददन्तः); E. H. होत् = Mg. होन्ते (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हवन्ते or भवन्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवन्.

Second Group.

302. Set. Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1) इल् or अल्	—	इलि or अलि	इला or अला	इली or अली
2) इअ or इ	अ	इ	आ	ई

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल्^o are peculiar to the Maithilī and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) इ or ई to Baiswāri in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

Note: Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that य्

is inserted after आ and ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; before those beginning with इ neither य् nor व् is inserted.

303. These suff. are used to derive the past participle from any root. Thus हसल् or हसिल् *laughed*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठल् or पठिल् *read*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयल् or पीइल् *drunk*, of R. पी *drink*; चूयल् or चूयल् or चूइल् *dripped*, of R. चू *drip*; रोयल् or रोयल् or रोइल् *wept*, of R. रो *weep*; खाइल् or खायल् *eaten*, of R. खा *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. अलि are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus हस्यो^० *I laughed*, of हसिअ + उं; खाइस् *thou eatest*, of खाइ + स्; again हसलिस् (f.) *thou laughedst*, of हसलि + स्, etc. But in Bs. हसा m., हसो f. *laughed*; पठा m., पठो f. *read*; खाया m., खाई f. *eaten*; etc.

Note: This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. कर् *do*, P. P. 1) कइल् or कयल् or कैल्, or 2) किइअ^० or किहि^० or Bs. कया or किया *done*; — of R. धर् *place*, P. P. 1) धइल् or धयल् or धैल् or 2) धइअ^० or धिहि^० or Bs. धया; also regularly धरिल्, धरा, etc. *placed*. — R. मर् *die*, P. P. 1) मुइल् or मुयल् or 2) मुइअ^० or मुइ^० or Bs. मुया; also regularly मरिल्, मरा *died*, etc. — R. जा *go*, P. P. 1) गइल् or गयल् or गैल् or 2) गइअ^० or गइ^० or B. गया *gone*; also regularly जाइल् or जायल् (§ 479. exc.); — R. हो *be*; P. P. 1) भइल् or भयल् or भैल् or 2) भइअ^० or भइ^० or Bs. भया or भवा *been*; also regularly होइल् or होयल् (§ 479. exc.). — R. दे *give*, P. P. 1) दिहल् or 2) दिइअ^० or दिहि^० or Bs. दया or दिया *given*. — R. ले *take*, P. P. 1) लिहल् or 2) लिइअ^० or लिहि^० or Bs. लया or लिया *taken*. — R. आव् *come*, P. P. 1) आइल् or आयल् or 2) आइअ^० or आइ^० or Bs. आया or आवा *come*. — R. पाव् *obtain*, P. P. 1) पाइल् or पायल् or 2) पाइअ^० or पाइ^० or Bs. पाया or पावा *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gds., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gd. and S. Gd. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. इय (only in the obl. f. इया as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. आ m., ई f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. इला (e. g., पडिला *fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. इ (as past part., Sn. 28) or इअ (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. आ m., ई f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. अला or इला m., अली or इली f., अले or इले n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., सुटला or सुटिला = E. H. कुटल् or कुटिल् and M. सोडिला or सोडला = E. H. होडल् or होडिल्). — 3) Only second set; in O. H. (Chand), wk. f. इय् (= Mg. इए, इअ) or इव् (= Ap. इउ) or st. f. एव् (= Ap. इअउ), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. आ m., ई f.; in W. H., st. f. यो or यो m., ई f.; in P., st. f. इआ m., ई f. (Ld. 24); in G., st. f. यो m., ई f., युं n. (Ed. 113. 50); in S., wk. f. इउ or इअ or इ (Tr. 289), or st. f. इओ or यो m., ई f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. इअ or ए or इ, or st. f. यो m., ई f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pashtū* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII, 116); e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृतः); st. f. *karai* (= कृतकः); and wk. f. *kral* (= *करितः, B. करिल्), st. f. *karalai* (= *करितकः, O. करिला). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

Note: Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or जो (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. जो (Kl. 209, 393), N. को (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पढलेला, G. पढलो, S. पढिल्लु or पढिजो, Mw. पढ्योजो or पढोजो, N. पढ्याको *read*, from the resp. part. M. पढला, G. पढ्यो, S. पढिओ, Mw. पढ्यो, N. पढ्यो.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त or, with the connecting vowel इ added, इत. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take

it in Skr. (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gd. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिद्वा or डिद्वा *seen* (Pr. दिद्वाओ, Skr. दृष्टकः), but also regularly देखिआ (Ld. 66); G. दीठो *seen*, पेठो *entered* (Pr. पड्ठओ, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. डिठो *seen*, पेठो *entered*, लधो *obtained* (Pr. लडओ H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लब्धकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50. — The suff. इत् becomes in Pr. either इद् which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इम् which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसिउ H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसिओ; Ap. धस्तिउ H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इतव्य = Ap. इएव H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इद् further changes in E. and S. Gd. to इल् and अल् (§ 109). The only instances of this change of द् to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कदे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गदे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मदे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*¹⁾ and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Śābarī²⁾ and Avantī, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gd.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल् they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr. forms in इम्. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. sg.: 1) Mg. m. इदे, f. इदा, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इदए, f. इदिआ; these result in the E. H.

1) It is commonly supposed (Ls. 412. Bs. I, 238) that द् first changed to उ and then to ल्; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कडे, गडे, मडे; but Md. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कदे, गदे, मदे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that द् changed at once to (dental) ल्, than that it first became cerebral उ, and then reverted to the dental ल्.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Śābarī (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.

m. इल् or अल्, f. इलि or अलि or इल् or अल्; and m. इला or अला, f. इलो or अलो. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इआ, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इअए, f. इइआ, whence the E. H. m. f. इअ or (dropping अ) इ, and m. इआ or (suppressing इ) आ, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिप् or चलिब्¹), E. H. चलिअ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए म्हि or चलिअ म्हि, Ap. चलिअउं (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चलयौ. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलिअहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चल्येस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिँ. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिदए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिअए, P. चलिआ, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिअओ, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेब् or चलिओ or चल्यो, W. H. चलयौ or चल्यो, S. चलिओ or चल्यो, G. and N. चल्यो.

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms.* Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खाद् *eat*; Skr. (a and c) खादितः or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खाइदे or (b) खाइदए or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइअए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइला or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for *खाइआ), B. and O. (a) खाइल् or (b) खाइला or (c) खाइ or (d) खिया (for *खया = *खइआ, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खाल्पा (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) काहदा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइदउ or (d) खाइअउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाथो (for *खाहदो or खाहिदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायौ or खायो. — 2) R. लभ् *take*; Skr. (a) लब्धः or (β) लब्धकः, Pr. (a) लडो (H. C. 3, 134) or (β) लडओ, S. (β) लधो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) *लभितः or (b) *लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिदे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिअए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for *लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइआ with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्; e. g., बाँधीव् *bound* or *built*, from R. बाँध् *bind* (see Man. 107. 114).

condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) ल्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लइआ or लिआ (Ld. 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form *लइतए or *लहितए, or made after दिना given, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लहिदउ or (d) लहिअउ, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for *लइदो) or लोधो (contr. like काधो eaten, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न्ह् for द् or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गन्भिणो = Pr. *गन्भिदो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. अणित्तयं = Pr. *अदिउत्तयं = Skr. अतिमुक्ककम्) or (d) लेवो (for *लइओ) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लोधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् give (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (α) हितः (for *धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (α) °हिदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हितउ (H. C. 4, 395), Gd. deest; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. *दधितः, Mg. (a) *दहिदे or (b) *दहिदए or A. Mg. (c) *दहिए or (d) *दहिअए, E. H. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for *दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिना (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लीता taken, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) *दहिदउ or (d) *दहिअउ; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयो or Bs. (d) दयो or दियो, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. धृ place; Skr. धृतः, Gd. deest; or Skr. *धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदए or A. Mg. (c) धलिए (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ) or (d) धलिअए, E. H. (a) धइल् or धरिल् or (b) धइला or धरिला or (c) धइ or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल् or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिआ; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदउ or (d) धरिअउ, W. H. (d) धर्यो or धर्यो, G. (d) धर्यो, S. (d) धरिओ or धर्यो. — 5) R. कृ do; Skr. (α) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (α) किदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) किअउ (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) किओ (Tr. 277); again Skr. *करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदए or A. Mg. (c) कलिए or (d) कलिअए or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कइल् (§§ 109. 124) or (b) कइला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. ह, for *किइ = कइ = करि, formed after लिहि taken, दिहि given)

or Bs. कर् or (d) कर्, B. and O. (a) करिल् or (b) करिला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) कर् (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) केला (for *कइला, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for *कया = कइया, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गया *gone*), P. (d) कोता (perhaps for *कइतए, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) करिदउ or (d) करिअउ or कियउ (H. C. 4, 378 = कइअउ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कीदो or कीधो or कीनो or कीन्हो (formed like लोदो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्यो or (d) Br. कर्यो or कियो (for *कयो = कइयो, see below S.), G. (b) कीधो (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्यो, S. (d) कयो (for *कइयो, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गम् *go*; Skr. (a) गतः or (β) गतकः, Mg. (a) गदे or गडे or (β) गदए or गउए, O. (a) गल् or (β) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) *गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिअए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = *गमिअयाए = *गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गइल् or (b) गइला or (c) गइ (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गइआ, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) गेल (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) गेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गइआ), P. गइआ or गिआ (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिअउ or गइअउ or contr. गयउ (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गीयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7) R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हूओ (H. C. 4, 64), Gd. *deest*; or Skr. *भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविअ^० = परिभूत^०) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविअए or (l) हविअए or (m) हुविअए, Ap. (m) हुआ (H. C. 4, 351, for हुआ, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुआ and मुइआ), E. H. (a) भइल् or (d) भइला or (g) भइ or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हउ or हो (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for *हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or भया (= भइआ) or contr. भा, B. (b) हइल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हइया (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होइल् or (f) होइला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for *काला or *हइला), H. H. (m) हुआ (for हुइआ, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइआ (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) भविअउ or (l) हविअउ or (m) हुविअउ, W. H. (k) Br. भवौ (for *भव्यौ) or भयौ (= भइयौ) or contr. भौ or Km. भवो or भयो or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. ह्वियो (suppressing अ between हवि^o) or ह्वियो (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुवो or हुयो (Kl. 210, for हुइयो) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवो (Ed. 69) or (m) होयो (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुओ (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भयो (= भइयो), Km. (m) हुइओ (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होयो (Kl. 236). — 8) R. मृ die; Skr. मृतः, Mg. (α) मदे or (β) मए (Wb. Bh. 156) or (γ) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुओ (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मल्; or Skr. *मरितः, Mg. (a) मलिदे or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदए or (d) मुलिदए or (e) मलिए or (f) मुलिए or (g) मलिअए or (h) मुलिअए, Ap. (f) मुइअ (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुआ (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गरिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मरिल् or (d) मुइला or (e) मरि or (f) मुइ or (g) Bs. मरा or (h) मुआ, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for *मइला), H. H. (h) मुआ (for मुइआ, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिअउ or (h) मुरिअउ or contr. मुअउ (H. C. 4, 442, for *मुइअउ, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मयौ or मयो or (h) मुओ or मुओ (for *मुइओ), G. मुवो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरियो or मयो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् come and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) obtain; Skr. आपः or प्राप्ः, Pr. अतो or पतो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. deest; or Skr. *आपितः or *प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) आविदए or (c) आविए (cf. H. C. 4, 387 पाविअ, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविअए, E. H. (a) आइल् or (b) अइला or (c) आइ or आय् or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)¹), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for *आइला), H. H. (d) आया (for आइआ), P. (d) आइआ; again Ap. Pr. (c) आविउ or आइउ (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइओ = आविओ?), W. H. (d) आयौ or आयो (for आइओ), N. आयो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms आसिल्^o, etc. are derived from the R. आइस् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविष् enter (आ + विष्).

Third Group.

308.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	इब् or अब्	* इब्ना or * अब्ना	इबि or अबि	
2)	आब् or आव्	आवा	आवाई or आई or आवट्	
3)	अब्बू or आबू	—	—	
4)	अवइया or अइया	—	—	
5)	अवारू or अवाल्	अवारा or अयाला	अवारी or अवाली	
6)	आर् or आलू	—	—	

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इबे or अबे or (by elision of ब्) contr. ऐ. — The suff. आवट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आहट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहट् of § 284.

Note: Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो be, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for the “it is to be done” of a thing is equal to the “doing” of a thing. Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होब् to be, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसब् or हसिब् *what is to be laughed at or to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठब् or पठिब् *what is to be read or to read*, of R. पठ् *read*; कर्ब् or कर्णिब् *what is to be done or to do*, of R. कर् *do*; छूम्ब् or छूहब् or छूइब् *what is to be touched or to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; बोम्ब् or बोवब् or बोइब् *what is to be sown or to sow*, of R. बो *sow*. But खाइब् or खाब् *what is to be eaten or to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराइब् or कराब् *what is to be caused to be done or to cause to do*, of C. R. कराव् *cause to do*; पीयब् or पीब् *what is to be drunk or to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देब् or देइब् *what is to be given, debt or to give*, of R. दे *give*; होब् or होइब् *what is to be, future, possible or to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से उ कर्ब् बाटै *by me that is to be done*, or actively मैँ कर्बोँ (= कर्ब् + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as कर्बिस् (fem.) *thou wilt do* for कर्बि + स्, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form *nouns of act*. Thus आवाँ *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जवाँ *going*, of R. जा *go*; खावाँ *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाँ or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूक् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाँ or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; ओलाव् or ओलाँ or ओलावट् *movement*, of R. ओल् *move*; लड़ा or लड़ावट् *fighting*, of R. लर् or लड़ *fight*; चलाव् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the *wages or price* paid for doing a thing, as रखावाँ or रखाँ *wages for keeping*, of R. रक् *keep*; कटवाँ *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनवाँ or बनाँ or बनावट् *making or price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखावाँ or लिखाँ *wages for writing or dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलवाँ, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढ़ावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढ़ाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खाबू or खब्बू *glutton* or खवइया or खवैया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; उराबू or उरब्बू or उरालू or उरवाला or उरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. उर *fear*; रखवारू or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रख *keep*; कागडारू or कागडालू *quarrelsome*, of R. कागड *quarrel*; कवइया *thatcher*, of R. का *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चढवइया *rider*, of R. चढ *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देख *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities*. The first and second sets occur in all Gds. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.¹). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इब्बा or (by elision of ब्) contr. आ (as “gerund or verbal noun”, S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इये (= इबे = इए) is used also in an *active* sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इब्बा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अबौँ or अबौ or इबौँ or इबौ or Mw. अबौँ or अबौ or इबौँ or इबौ (obl. f. अबे or इबे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अबो, f. अबी, n. अबुँ, and forms the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे छोडबो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अबुँ neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., छोडबुँ *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इबो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., छडिबो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. ऊँ, a strong form, contr. for इऊँ = इबूँ (Man. 61, 5. 71);

1) The so-called P. „gerund“ (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in उआ m., ई f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोडूँ to loose (for *सोडिऊँ = Mw. सोडिबोँ, G. सोडवूँ)¹). — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) आवेँ neut. (called “supine” in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. आवया (= E. H. आवे) or (by eliding व्) contr. आया (= E. H. ऐ, B. इये). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in आवा m., आवी f., आवेँ n.; e. g., M. मी सुटावा *I may be loosed* (lit. *I am to be loosed*), or म्याँ सोडावा *I may loose him* (lit. *by me he may be loosed* or *by me he is to be loosed*); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5th and 6th sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or ला, f. ली; कगडालू. The 5th set occurs in M. as अवाडू or अवाकू (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाकू *pitiful*, of R. कन्हू *moan*); and in G. as अवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., छोडवानो *he shall deliver*, of R. छोडू Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे छोडवानो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*. The sixth set occurs in M. as आडू or आकू (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेळाडू *frolicsome*, of R. खेलू *play*; खाजाकू *itching*, of R. खाजू *itch*); in S. as आरो or आरू (Tr. 53; e. g., धारारो or धोरारू *pedlar*, of R. धोरू *seek*; पीजारो *cotton-carder*, of R. पिज्जू *card*).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gd. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एअव्वं or इअव्वं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. *एव्वं or एवं (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इव्वं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इब् or अब्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel ऊ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in ऊण = Pr. एऊण or इऊण, Skr. *इत्वानम्.

with the pleon. *अ* added, Skr. इतव्यकम्, Pr. एअवृअं or इअवृअं, Ap. Sr. (a) एवृउं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= *एवृए or *एवृअं, cf. § 54), W. Gd. (a) इबौ or अबौ or E. Gd. (b) इबा or अबा or S. Gd. (b) आवे (= *एवृअं). Thus Skr. कर्तव्यम् (or *कर्तितव्यम्), Pr. करेअवृं or करिअवृं, Ap. *करेवृं or करिवृं or करेवं, E. H. करिब or करब; again Skr. कर्तव्यकम्, Pr. करेअवृअं or करिअवृअं, Ap. (a) *करेवृअं or (b) करेवृउं or (c) करेवा; Gd. (a) M. करावे, (b) W. H. करिबौ, (c) O. करिबा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एवं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एवृउं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. अवाई is a comp. of the suff. अब् or आव् + suff. आई of § 220; and the suff. अवइया a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. ऐया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. अवार् or अवारा a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. अर् or अरा (§ 209); and the suff. अवट् a comp. of suff. आव् + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. अवाई) or त्वम् (or fem. *त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इतव्यता or त्वम् = Mg. इअवृता or Ap. *एवृटा, E. H. अवट्; the change of त् to ट् (as in पट्पां for पत्तन H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. अवट् or आवट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृता = Pr. वृटा. — Again the suff. आई, अइया and अर् (or अलू) are contr. respectively from the suff. अवाई, अवइया and अवारा (or अवाला), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. आया for आवया (§ 313). — The suff. तव्य, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. आ and इये (see § 313); in the other Gds., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. ऐया and अरा = Ap. Pr. अअअ (= अकके) and अउअ, the उ of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gd., to ऋ or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रवेवृअउउ (Skr. रक्षितव्यः), W. H. रबालौ or E. H. °रा; Ap. खेलेवृअउउ, M. *खेलवाड् or contr. खेलाड्. Similarly the originally pass. suff. अनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत (of the past. part.) have become active

in Gd. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. *तव्य* has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* „dedicated“; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* „effective“, *operativus*, *contemplativus*, *negativus*, etc.

Fourth Group.

315.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अन्	अना	अनी
	2)	आवन् or आन्	अउना or औना	अउनी or औनी
	3)	अनिहारू	अनिहारा	अनिहारी
	4)	—	अनेवारा or °ला	अनेवारी or °ली

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in आव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gds., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt*, of R. दे *give*; लेन् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt*, of R. ले *take*, as in the phrase लेन् देन् *intercourse, traffic*; बाजन् or बजना *what is to be played, a musical instrument*, of R. बज् *be played*; ओरुना or ओरुनी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet*, of R. ओरु *put on, wear*; बिहावन् or बिहउना or बिहौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes*, of R. बिह् or बिहाव् *spread*; खेलउना or खेलौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेल् play; भरुना or भरौना what is to be loaded, a load, of R. भर्वा load; कहौनी (H. H. कहानी) what is to be said, a story, of R. कह् speak; पहिरावन् or पहिरौनी what is to be put on, garments, of R. पहिर put on; ढुनी or ढौनी encampments, barracks (lit., what is to be thatched), of R. ढा thatch; पठन् or पठनी what is to be read, spell, charm, of R. पठ read. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार or m. ०रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. ०री what is to be, possible, future, and अहोना impossible, of R. हो (but होनेहारी possibility, futurity).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार, m. ०रा one who is going to do or a doer, of R. कर do; m. f. पठनिहार or m. पठनिहारा or पठनेवारा or ०ला, f. ०री or ०ली one who is going to read, a reader, of R. पठ read; m. f. देनेहार or m. ०रा or m. देनेवाला or ०रा, f. ०ली or ०री one who is going to give, a giver, of R. दे give, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. ०नी jester, of R. हँस् laugh; उरुना or उरौना, f. ०नी coward, timid, of R. उर fear; सुहना or सुहौना, f. ०नी pleasing, of R. सुहाव please; घिनना or घिनौना, f. ०नी disgusting, of R. घिनाव nauseate; पहिरुनी or पहिरौनी a tire-woman, of C. R. पहिराव attire. The fem. in घनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in घान् a place; thus fem. खोदनी a spade (lit., digger), of R. खोद dig; लेखनी style, pen, of R. लेख् write, engrave; कतरनी scissors, of R. कतर cut; सुननी sense of hearing, of R. सुन् hear, etc.; and masc. उठान् area, court, of R. उठ rise; बकान् place for ensnaring, of R. बाक् or बकाव ensnare; ठिकान् halting-place, of R. ठिक् halt.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी speaking, speech, of R. कह् speak; सुनन् or सुननी hearing, of R. सुन् hear; लेन् or लेनी taking, of R. ले take; करन् or करनी¹⁾ action, of R. कर do; रहन् or रहनी¹⁾ existence, living, of R. रह् remain, live; होनी¹⁾ occur-

1) Also कर्तब्, रहतब्, होतब् or होनिहार, which are clearly part.

rence, *accidence*, of R. हो *be*; सुकावन् *direction, advice*, of R. सुकाव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect*, of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; बजनी *dispute*, of R. बज् *fight*; लिखनी *writing*, of R. लिख् *write*; सिखावन् *instruction*, of R. सिखाव् *teach*, etc. Especially the suff. अन्; as उगन् *flying*, of R. उड़् *fly*; कुदन् *leaping*, of R. कूद् *leap*; चढान् *ascent, riding*, of R. चढ् *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; बइठान् *sitting, session*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; धरान् *holding*, of R. धर् *hold*; पकरान् *seizure*, of R. पकर् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising*, of R. उठ् *rise*; चलान् *clearance*, of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लगान् *fighting*, of R. लड़् *fight*, etc.

Note: उगन् *flying*, etc. may be also उगाव्, उगाई, उगावर्, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1st and 2nd sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. अन्, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. अन् no longer exists as such in Gd., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage*, दान् *giving*, मान् *respect*, गवन् or गमन् *going*, बधावन् *presents*, etc., whose roots *पा, *दा, *मा, *गम्, *वर्धाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. अन् or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; but those of the 4th set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gd. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gd., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 अनवारो or अनेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to अनारू (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. अपारू or अपारू (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनौ or अनौ in Br. and अनौ or अनौ in Mw.), P. (अणा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अणे (called “gerund” in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन or अनि or अन् or अनि (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अण or अण (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अणु or इणु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनौ, f. अनौ, and S. m. अणो or इणो, f. अणी or इणी (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनीय, which in Pr. becomes अणीअ (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अणिअ (as in पाणीअ or पाणिअ *water* = Skr. पानीय Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अणअ (or अणाय Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अणिअ or अणअ, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उअ or अउ or अउअ, arise the forms अणअउ or अणअउअ, which become अणारू or अनारू or अणारू or अनारू in M. and G.; and the form अणअअउअ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनवारू, W. H. अनवालो; and the forms अणिअअउ or अणिअअउअ, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनिहारू or अनिहारू. The simple Ap. form अणअ (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अणहं, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनौ or अनौ; and the Ap. inf. suff. अणहिं (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अनै or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अणअ) and अनीय have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनीय, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तव्य. — The secondary suff. वाला or वारा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

Fifth Group.

322. Set. 1) Fem. अत् or अती. Set. 2) Fem. आवत् or औती. The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुकत् or चुकती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुनत् *plaiting, plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; बसती *dwelling, village*, of R. बस् *live*; भरती *filling up, enlistment*, of R. भर *fill*; चढती *rising, gain*, of R. चढ् *rise*; बढती *increase*, of R. बढ् *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging, assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in अढत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. *अढ्; बिनती *information, petition*, of R. *बिन्. The second set in समुकावत् or समुकौती *explaining*, of R. समुकाव् *explain*; कुटौती *release*, of R. कुटाव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are उत् and अवती; in G. औती or उती; in P. and W. H. आवत्, औती. Thus W. H. and P. समुकौती, G. समनुती, M. समनूत; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनोती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुकवती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. आप् (§ 349); thus आप्ति or, with pleon. क added, आप्तिका; and in Pr. अती or अतिआ, in E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. वित्ताप्तिका, Mg. विनुत्तिआ, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. *वर्धाप्तिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. वडुत्तिआ, E. H. बढती; or Skr. *अर्धाप्तिः (of R. ऋध्), Mg. अडुत्ती (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)¹), E. H. अढत्, M. अडत्, O., B., G., S. आडत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes आडु for the Skr. R.

II, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct प्र , the forms Pr. आवती or आवतिआ , E. H. आवत् or औती might arise; thus Skr. *मनायिका , Mg. *मणावतिआ , E. H. मनौती (for मनवती or मनउती , §§ 25. 34. 78).

Sixth Group.

326. Com. gen. अ . Masc. आ . Fem. ई .

The form अ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus सूक् *sight*, of R. सूक् *see*; लथेरू f. *draggling* (W. H. लथेरू), of R. लथेरू *draggles*; चपेट् f. or चपेटा m. a *slap*, of R. चपेट् *slap*; खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play*; चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk*; पकरू f. *seizure* (W. H. पकरू), of R. पकरू *seize*; हँस् m. f. or हँसा m., हँसी f. *laughter*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; दउरू f. or दउरा m. or दउरी f. *running, race*, of R. दउरू *run*; रगड़ f. or रगडा m. *rubbing*, of R. रगड़ *rub*; फेरू m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेरू *turn*; दाब् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाब् *press*; बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak*; पछ्ताव् m. or पछ्तावा m. *repentance*, of R. पछ्ताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. अ , and m. औ or ओ , f. ई ; S. m, उ , f. अ or इ , and m. ओ , f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. अ , and m. ओ , f. ई ; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. बोल् , बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध् , बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. भूल् , of R. भुल् ; S. घाटि f. or घाटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट् ; S. फेरू m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अ , which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. अः , f. आ and, with pleon. क added, m. अकः , f. इका . These are in Mg. m. ए , f. आ ,

व्याप् ; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives आअड् ; thus H. C. आअड्डे , T. V. आअड्डे . The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. अध् .

and m. अट्, f. इम्ना; whence E. H. m. f. अ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. आ, f. ई (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेल्ले or खेल्ला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल्; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिम्ना, E. H. हँस् or हँसी, etc.

Seventh Group.

330. Com. gen. उ or आउ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in आव् take the suff. आउ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, उ is added to आव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus उ in खाउ *eater, glutton*, of R. खा; उचाट् *vexatious*, of R. उचाट् *vex*; मारु *fighter, beater*, of R. मारु *beat*; मूँड् *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँड् *shave*; काट् *cutter, biter*, of R. काट् *cut, bite*; कारु *sweeper, broom*, of R. कारु *sweep* (W. H. काड्); जागू *vigilant*, of R. जागू *wake*; बिगाडू *spoiler*, of R. बिगाडू *spoil*, etc. Again आउ; in कगडउ *quarrelsome*, of R. कगड् *quarrel*; उडाउ *spendthrift*, of R. उडाव् *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाउ *laborer, bread-winner*, of R. कमाव् *labor, earn*; टिकाउ *stationary*, of R. टिक् *stop*; बिकाउ *saleable*, of R. बिक् *sell* (intrans.); फुसलाउ *coaxer, tempter*, of R. फुसलाव् *coax*. Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as डाँक् or डाक् *robber*, of R. *डाँक् *bite or overpower*.

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have उ and आउ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *eater*, काडु *broom*, etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final उ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोखउं, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनुँ or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तृ or, with pleon. क added, तृक्; the ऋ of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Páli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. उ or उओ (= *तुः or

*तुकः), W. Gd. उ or ऊ; e. g., Skr. भर्ता *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भर्तृ (H. C. 3, 44), Gd. *deest* (E. H. has भर्तार, Pr. भर्तारा H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिउ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भ्राउ or भ्राउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाउ or भ्राउ or भ्राउ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भाउ, M. भाउ. Similarly Skr. दंष्टकः (of R. दंश् or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. उक्कुओ (cf. H. H. 2, 2 उक्को = Skr. दष्टः *bitten*), Ap. उक्कुउ, W. Gd. उक्कू *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gd. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gd. उ (G.) or ऊ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाउ; Skr. मारितृ *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. मारु or W. H. मारु, etc. — The suff. आउ contains the caus. or denom. suff. आप्; thus Skr. कर्मापयितृ *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gd. कमाउ, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मातु *working* = Pr. कम्मावंतो or कम्मावेवंतो).

Eighth Group.

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अक्	अका	अकी
	2)	आक्	आका	आकी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus बइठक् f. or बइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. बइठ *sit*; कसक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तउक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तर्का *day-break*, of R. *तर or तर्क् (W. H. तउक्) *crack*; कमक् f. or कमका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. *कम् (*wave*) or कमक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. *ज्वल् or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or

°की f. *snatch, wink*, of R. *कप् *be quick* (Skr. अद्यप् ?); कटक् f. or °का m. *twitch*, of R. *कट् *be quick* (Skr. अद्यट् ?); फडक् f. *palpitation*, फडकी *partition, screen*, of R. फाड् *split*; फाटक् m. *gate*, of R. फाट् *split*; सडक् f. *road*, of R. सट् *join?*, etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes*, of R. चर् *graze*; चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever*, चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् *walk, move*; दडगाक् m. or f. *runner, racer*, of R. दड् *run*; लराक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome*, of R. लर् (W. H. लड्) *fight*; उडाक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged*, of R. उड् *fly*; पडराक् *swimmer*, पैराकी *act or art of swimming*, of R. पडर् *swim*, etc.

337. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds.; but the W. Gds. have final औ or ओ for E. Gd. आ; and S. has आकु or आक् for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation*. The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृत् *doing*, of R. कृ *do*) meaning *doing, agent*. On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening*, E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्हक्केरं or अम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्ह + केरं), षडिकूलं or षडिकूलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं), मुक्को or मुक्को (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast*, i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gd. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उडुपकः, Mg. उडुवके or उडुअके, E. H. उडाक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindî grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. *अब्* or *इब्* (§ 308). Thus R. पठ् from inf. पठब् *to read*; R. बूक् from inf. बूकब् *to know*; R. खा from inf. खाइब् or खाब् *to eat*. In some cases, however, a *व्* or *य्* must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइब् *to obtain* (for *पाविब् § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयब् *to live*; R. चू from inf. चूवब् or चूसब् *to drip*; R. रो from inf. रोवब् or रोसब् *to weep*, etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3^d pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination *ऐ* (or *य्*); thus R. पठ्, from पठै *he reads*; R. बूक्, from बूकै *he knows*; R. पाव्, from पावै *he obtains*; R. खा, from खाय् *he eats*; R. जी, from जीयै *he lives*; R. चू, from चूऐ *he drips*; R. रो, from रोऐ or रोवै *he weeps*. Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पठब् *to read* and 3. sg. pres. conj. पठै *he reads*, both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पठिब्ब, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पठइ, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as बूकब् *to know*, it is only the 3. sg. बूकै *he knows*, which leads through its equivalents, Pr. बुकइ, Skr. बुध्यते (i. e. बुध्-य-ते), to the original (Skr.) form of the root बुध्; for the inf. बूकब् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as *बुधितव्यम्. Such inf. as बूकब्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form बूक्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses र् and ल्, where W. H. has ३ and ल् (see §§ 29. 30); e. g., E. H. पर् *fall*, W. H. प३; E. H. चर् *walk*, W. H. चल्ल. Or E. H. has ह् where M. has स् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. छुर् *be loosed*, छो३ *loose*, M. सुट्, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिख् or सीख् *learn*, M. शिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बैस् *sit*, N. बस्, P. बह्, S. बिह (Skr. उपविष्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् *sleep* (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. गोहराव् *call*, W. H. पुकार्. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् *see*, M. पाह् *see*, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल्ल, Skr. चल्ल *walk*; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् *be hot*; E. H. ज्ञान्, Skr. ज्ञा *know*; E. H. कर्, Skr. कृ *do*; E. H. बो, Skr. वप् *sow*; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् *eat*; E. H. चृ, Skr. श्र्युत् *leak*; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् *be angry* (§ 148); E. H. बोल्, Skr. वद् *speak*; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् *rub*; E. H. तूट् or टूट्, Skr. त्रुट् *break* (§ 174); E. H. घस्, Skr. घर्ष् *rub*; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्श् *touch* (§ 58, note); E. H. परोस्, Skr. परिविष् *distribute* (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृष् *see*; E. H. उठ, Skr. उत्था *rise*; E. H. काँड्, Skr. अथर्द् *sweep* (§ 172); etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् *forget*, cf. Skr. भ्रमर्; E. H. हाह् *wish*, cf. Skr. उत्साह (§ 173); E. H. बइह् *sit*, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पइह् *enter*, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् *sleep*, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकारु eject, cf. Skr. निष्कृष्ट (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ज्ञातव् make known, cf. Skr. ज्ञाप; E. H. पलट् or पलट् turn over, cf. Skr. पर्यस्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् cook, cf. Skr. पक्; E. H. पहिचान् recognize, cf. Skr. परिचयनम् (§ 69); E. H. काँक् spy, peep, cf. Skr. ध्यां कृ; E. H. ओँक् vomit, cf. Skr. वम् कृ; E. H. कडक् crack, rumble, cf. Skr. कर्द कृ; E. H. धौक् blow, cf. Skr. धुमं कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix“ into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class“ of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. अपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix“, they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा eat for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3^d sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाम् or खाइ (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाय्. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g., E. H. चल walk for Pr. चल, Skr. चल; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलइ, E. H. चलै. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् be hot), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix“, see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. चू *leak* for Pr. चु (चो), Skr. श्रुत् or च्युत्; as Skr. श्रुतेति, Pr. चुम्भइ (H. C. 2, 77) or चोम्भइ, E. H. चूरे; or E. H. परोस् *offer food* for Pr. परिवेस्, Skr. परिवेष (caus. of परि-विष्); as Skr. परिवेषयति, Pr. परिवेसेइ or परिवेसइ, E. H. परोसै (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव, Skr. भू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवइ or होइ (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होय *he is*; but the original भ् is preserved in the E. H. past part. भइल् *been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or व्, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. भू; E. H. भीज् *moisten* for Skr. अभ्यार्द् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् *rub* for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्दति, Pr. मलइ (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. मलै (§ 109); or E. H. तूट् or टूट् *break* for Pr. तुट्, Skr. त्रुट्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् *be angry* for Pr. कुप्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. छाह् *wish* for Pr. *उच्छाह्, see § 173; or E. H. काँइ *sweep* for Pr. श्रक्तु, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into *ten* classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gd. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. ज्ञान् *know* for Pr. ज्ञाण् and ज्ञा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ना of the IXth class, as Skr. ज्ञानाति, Pr. ज्ञाणाइ (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञा + णा + इ) or ज्ञाणइ (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + अ + इ); E. H. ज्ञानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. नु of the Vth cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोइ (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिणइ or चुणइ (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + अ + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. पाच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. य् of the IVth cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. पाच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47 = पाच् + अ + इ), E. H. नाचै, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general“ tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gd. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gd. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as ज्ञापिअं (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly पायं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञातम्; or Pr. ज्ञापिऊण (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly पाऊण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. ज्ञाणावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. *ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिणिहिइ or चिन्निहिइ (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. *चिनिष्यति or *चिन्विष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चिनु-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिब्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. *चिन्व्यते or Pr. *चिणुईअइ) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुसइ (Spt. 46) or सुणईअइ (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. *सुन्यते), but also regularly सुब्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. *श्रुव्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुणिऊण (lit., Skr. *सुनित्वा) or regularly सोऊण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. पाच्चाविअइ (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. *नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. कर्हिअ (lit. *कर्म्य) or regularly कदुअ (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in ऋञ् which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. ज्ञानञ् to know for Skr. ज्ञातव्यम् (lit. *ज्ञानितव्यम्); E. H. नाचञ् to dance for Skr. नर्तितव्यम् (lit. *नृत्यितव्यम्), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

Note: In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class“; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* ण, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. चप् is trans. *press*, but the E. H. R. चप् is intrans. *be put down, be abashed*, and equal to the Skr. pass. R. चप्य; as Skr. pass. चप्यते *he is pressed*, Pr. चप्पङ्, E. H. चपै, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gd. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. चार् (W. H. चाल्) and Skr. चल् *walk*, as Skr. pass. चलयते (but act. चलति), Pr. चल्लङ् (Vr. 8, 53, but act. चलङ् H. C. 4, 231), W. H. चालै or E. H. चारै (but act. W. H. चलै, E. H. चरै), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. सीच् and Skr. सिच् *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. सिच्यते (but act. सिञ्चति), Pr. सिच्चङ् (H. C. 4, 230, but act. सिंचङ् H. C. 4, 239), E. H. सीचै (but act. सीच्चै), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

Note: In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice“ from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class“.* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gd. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the Ist (incl. VIth) and the Xth (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VIth (or Ist) and the other to the Skr. Xth cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VIth¹⁾ (or occasionally Xth) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the Ist cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems

substituting the suff. अ of the VIth (or Xth) for their proper class-suff. (नु of the Vth, न of the VIIth, उ of the VIIIth, ण of the IXth, ष of the IVth), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, आ) into अ, the characteristic of the VIth and Xth classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. अ of the VIth class. For example; R. चि *gather* is in Skr. of the Vth cl., base त्तिनु, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VIth cl., by incorporating नु and changing उ to अ, hence base चिण, 3. sg. pres. चिणङ् (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् *obtain* is in Skr. of the Vth cl., hence base प्राप्, 3. sg. pres. प्रप्नोति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by substituting the suff. अ of the VIth for नु, hence base पात्र, 3. sg. pres. पात्रङ् (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भञ् *break* is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by incorporating न and eliding its अ, hence base भञ्ज, 3. sg. pres. भञ्जङ् (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. वीसेदि or पिंसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिष् from the VIIth into the Xth cl.; or again R. कृ *do* is in Skr. of the VIIIth cl., hence base कृ, 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist or Xth cl., by changing the suff. उ of the VIIIth to अ, hence base °क्क (i. e., क्क) or कर् or करे (i. e., कर्य), 3. sg. pres. °क्कङ् (as in बुक्कङ् Spt. 173 = Skr. ब्रूकरोति) or कर्ङ् (Vr. 8, 13)

to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VIth cl. The Ist differs from the VIth cl. by *gunating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VIth does not gunate the radicals and accentuates the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not gunate the rad. vowel; e. g., in चिणङ्, सुणङ्, where if they were of the Ist cl., it should be चेणङ्, सोणङ्; for the Rs. are, practically, चिण्, सुण्. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the gunation of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in भञ्जङ्, पाञ्चङ्. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gd.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.

or करेइ (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating ना and changing आ to अ, hence base ज्ञाण or ज्ञाणे (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञाणइ (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञाणेइ (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IXth cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by substituting their suff. अ (अय) for ना, hence base गेंह or गेहे (i. e., गेंहय), 3. sg. pres. गेंहइ (Vr. 8, 15) or गेहेदि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IVth cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating य, hence base णच्च or णच्चे, 3. sg. pres. णच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) or णच्चेदि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence irregular base रोदि, 3. sg. pres. रोदिति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist cl., by substituting their suff. अ for the irreg. इ of the IInd cl., hence base रुद or रोद, 3. sg. pres. रुअइ or रुवइ (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोअइ or रोवइ (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by interpolating its suff. अ, hence base जाअ, 3. sg. pres. जाअइ (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. जाई H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VIth and Xth, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VIth into the Xth; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the Xth into the VIth, through changing the Xth class-suff. ए into the VIth class-suff. अ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VIth cl. into the Xth; e. g., हसेइ (H. C. 3, 158), for हसइ (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; करेइ (H. C. 4, 337), for कइ (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नच्चेइ (Dl. 50), for नच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the Xth cl. into the VIth; e. g., कहइ (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेइ (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतइ (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेइ (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सहइ (Spt. 260), for साहेइ (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: दरिसइ

(H. C. 3, 149), for दरिसेइ, Skr. दर्शयति, from R. दृश् see; or करावइ (H. C. 3, 149), for करावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ do; or हसावइ (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् laugh; or भमावइ (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेइ (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भ्रम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gd. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VIth of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुगाइ; E. H. पावै = Pr. पावइ; E. H. भंजै = Pr. भंजइ; E. H. वीसै = Pr. वीसइ or विसइ; E. H. करै = Pr. करइ; E. H. ज्ञानै = Pr. ज्ञापाइ; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेहइ; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नचइ; E. H. रोरे = Pr. रोचइ; E. H. ज्ञाय् (W. H. ज्ञायै) = Pr. ज्ञाइ (or ज्ञाचइ); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसइ; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहइ; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतइ; E. H. करावै = Pr. करावइ; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावइ, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drink*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VIth class-suff. अ; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. जा go. Thus E. H. पीयै *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form *पिअअइ or *पिअयइ, instead of the common Pr. पिअइ (H. C. 4, 10) or पियइ (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिबति, which would be in E. H. either *पीइ or *पियै; similarly E. H. चूरे *it drips* = Pr. *चुअअइ, for the ordinary Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77).

Note: Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gd. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the Ist cl., तप, and also, but rarely, of the IVth cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्य). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (cf. तवइ H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VIth cl., म्रिय,

but in the Vedas of the Ist cl., मर्. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर्, Pr. मर् (Vr. 8, 12 मर्इ, E. H. मर्). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice“*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. य्, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VIth (or Xth), and in E. H. into the VIth. Thus R. भञ् break is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति; its pass. root or base is भञ्य, hence 3. sg. pres. भन्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भञ् of the IVth cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IVth cl.) suff. य्, makes the root to be of the VIth; hence base भञ्ज, 3. sg. pres. भञ्जइ *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भञ्जंतस्स, Dl. 42 बिभञ्ज). Again R. रुध् hinder is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base रुपाध्, 3. sg. pres. रुपाडि; but in Pr. it is of the VIth cl., by incorporating न् and eliding its अ; hence base रुध्, 3. sg. pres. रुधइ (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्य, hence 3. sg. pres. रुध्यते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुक्कइ (or रुब्भइ) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VIth cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. य् and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् can forms Pr. सक्कइ, for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly सक्कइ is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (Vth cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form सक्कणोइ (cf. Dl. 36 सक्कणोमि). Again R. लग् belong forms Pr. लागइ (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (Ist cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लायते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट् or फुड् (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) स्फुटति. Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिच्च् (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिंच् (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) सिञ्चति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्प् = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) सिञ्चति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्प् = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हण् (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्रेच् and विक्रीणच्, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. बिक्रै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्रेच्, by showing that the termin. एच् may represent the Skr. pass. termin. इयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धेच् *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III^d cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देच् (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेच् *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. ठेच् or थेच् (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्था, is the Skr. pass. स्थीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. स्थायति, of R. स्थै (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उड्च् *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उद्-उ, is the Skr. IVth cl. उड्डीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. Ist cl. उड्डीयते. All these last mentioned forms in एच्, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. Xth cl., which likewise ends in एच्, as Pr. कहेच् = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really Xth cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VIth cl. Just as कहेच् may change to कह्च्, so देच् to द्च् (Spt. 216), ठेच् to ठ्च् (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VIth cl. Thus E. H. बिक्रै = Pr. विक्रच् or विक्रेच्; E. H. ०है (in पहिरै *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.

°धइ or °धेइ; E. H. संचै = Pr. संचइ or संचेइ; E. H. उडै = Pr. उडइ or उडेइ; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय) for Pr. देइ. Again E. H. सकै = Pr. सकइ; E. H. लगै = Pr. लगइ; E. H. फुटै = Pr. फुटइ; E. H. चारै or W. H. चालै = Pr. चलइ; E. H. सीचै = Pr. सिचइ.

Note: The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IVth cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IVth cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नह्यते *nâhyate* he binds, but pass. नह्यते *nahyâte* he is bound. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IVth cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VIth cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix आपि.* In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. आपि (Pr. आवि, E. H. आव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अधी (i. e., अधि-इ) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ or क्रावेइ *he causes to do* = Skr. कार्यति or *करापयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with आपि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ, so far as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. करावै *he causes to do*, not *कारै, which does not exist; again E. H. मरावै *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मारै *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VIth cl. are occasionally transferred into the Xth cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. *आपि*, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 *सुपाउ* perhaps contr. for *सुपावउ* or *सुपावेउ*); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. *सुहावि* = Skr. *सुख्* or **सुखापि* (3. sg. *सुहावेइ* Spt. 169), E. H. *सुहाव्*. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., *चुराव्* *steal*, Pr. **चुरावि*, Skr. *चुर*; E. H. *गरियाव्* *abuse*, Pr. **गलिहावि*, Skr. *गल्ह्*, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots*. In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. *सर्* *issue* intrans. = Skr. S. R. *सृ*, and E. H. *सार्* *accomplish* (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. *सारि*; or E. H. *मर्* *die* intr. = Skr. S. R. *मृ*, and E. H. *मार्* *kill* trans. = Skr. C. R. *मारि*; E. H. *बुड्* *sink* intr. = Skr. S. R. *बुड्* and E. H. *बोड्* *immerse* trans. = Skr. C. R. *बोडि*, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. *आव* (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. *निबाड्* *accomplish*

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाहि, of the trans. S. R. निर्वह्; from निब्राह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निब्रह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वह्य or निर्वाह्य; for these forms would become in Pr. निव्रह्य, and thence E. H. *निब्रह्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. पहा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as कर् *do* is to करा (or कराव्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संह् or सट् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. सँह् or साट्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gd. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gd.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhātupāthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in ञ्; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the Xth class, but occasionally also to the Ist. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VIth cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्ज् *scour*, from मार्ज् *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृज् *scour*; or R. मार्ग् *seek*, from मार्ग *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग् *seek*; both

preserved in E. H. as मॉन् and मॉग्. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विष् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as बेष्ट and काष्ट (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जम् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. *जन्मयति, Pr. जम्मेइ or जम्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जमै; again R. धार or ढार or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. *धारयति, Pr. धाडेइ or धाडइ (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसरति), E. H. धारै or ढारै *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलथ् *turn over*, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पल्लट्टइ or पल्लह्यइ (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पलथै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पिष्ट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पिष् *beat* with suff. त; Skr. *पिष्टयति or पिट्टयति (? Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पिट्टेइ (Spt. 173 for *पिट्टेइ) or पिट्टइ, E. H. पीटै *he beats*. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the Xth cl. आपय (Pr. आवे, H. आव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or *सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ, E. H. सुहावै *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चिताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित्त *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. *चिन्नापयति, Pr. *चिन्नावेइ or *चिन्नावइ, E. H. चितावै *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes“ must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already

noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gd. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ *do*. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर्ब् *to do*; thus जमा कर्ब् *to collect*, बंदू कर्ब् *to shut*, बैल् कर्ब् *to boil*, पास कर्ब् *to pass an examination*, मेल कर्ब् *to mix*, ध्यान् कर्ब् *to meditate*, बिचार कर्ब् *to think* (for बिचारब्, as in English *to make answer* for *to answer*), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ *make low, degrade*, चिरं कृ *make long, delay*, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate *compound roots*. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb स्फुत् + कृ or फुत् + कृ *blow*, whence फुत्करोति *he blows*; this appears in Pr. as फुक्केइ or फुक्कइ and in E. H. as फूक्कै. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into one form, Pr. फुक्क, E. H. फूक्क which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क *bark* (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = ब्रू or वद् + कृ; धक्क *destroy* = धक् + कृ or ध्वत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or ध्वस्); फक्क *swell* = स्फट् + कृ; चिक्क *pain* = चृत् + कृ; टक्क *bind* = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination एङ्, which is occasionally reduced to अङ्. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form केङ् or कङ् (as in लोक्केङ् or लोक्कङ् Spt. 173 = Skr. लुत्करोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form ओढे which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn* or *it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उअङ्ङ् or उअङ्ङेङ्; and in Skr. we find the form उपध्रियते which is both pass. and act. (VIth class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपध्रियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धरति, of the Ist class. Similarly the R. मृ die is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VIth class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense¹); for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) of the Ist cl. (मरति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ do. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VIth cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) कर्ति, of the Ist class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (करङ्) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. केङ् or कङ् and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. बहकै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VIth cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VIth cl. म्रियते *mriyâte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyâte*.

from E. H. R. बह्क् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out, scl., of the right path*) represents the Pr. बह्क्क्इ or बह्क्क्इ and Skr. बह्क्क्रियते; or E. H. उचक्, of the E. H. root उचक् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उचक्क्इ or उचक्क्इ and Skr. (Vedic) उचाक्रियते *he is carried on high*, etc.¹). It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes त् or श्; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कष *pain*, N. कष *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. श्, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally इ; e. g., N. कष *pain*, when Cp. R. कषीकृ = E. H. कसक् *pain*²). It will be seen that in such compounds the initial क् *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the क् is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्क्इ or रुक्क्इ *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the IInd cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्क्इ and by transfer into the Xth cl. (§ 347) क्क्इ. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass.-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This इ is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally श् is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उचाक्रियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उचक्क्इ, E. H. उचक् *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel श् rather than इ, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was श् or इ; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to श्.

Skr. च्युत्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्केइ or चुक्कइ *he ceases*; Skr. कषीक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्केइ or कसिक्कइ *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in क्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. रुक्कइ = E. H. रोकै (§ 148); Pr. चुक्कइ = E. H. चुकै (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्कइ = E. H. कसकै (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. कृ, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमकै, Pr. *चमक्कइ or *चमक्केइ, Skr. *चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. कृ *do*, etc.

Note: Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्क *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्क, Skr. न्यक्क *degrade* = नि-ञ्च-कृ.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूम् *vex*, टेर् *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेव् *sharpen*, टो *handle, grope*, टाँस् *cram*, ढो *carry*, तग् *stich*, तच् *be parched*, यिज् *be congealed*, तिहुइ or त्योइ or त्योइ *bend*, पजर *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुइ or पौइ *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोव् or पोइ *make broad or thread*, मूच् *shut*, मुर *acquire a taste*, लच् *bend*, लट् *be laden*, लिउ or लील् *swallow*, लेट् *recline*, लौट् *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed, be soiled* and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोइ *review*, इइ *be perverse*, हिच् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into:
a) *denominative*; as गोहराव् *call*, हलग् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as जौक् *scold*, टोक *prevent, challenge*, भटक *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or इ

(or *र*) or *ट*; as *टहल्* or *टहर्* *walk to and fro* (cf. N. *टहल्* f. *service, drudgery*); *ठहल्* or *ठहर्* *stop, remain* (cf. *ठहर्* or *ठाव्* a *place*); *ढकेल्* or *धकेल्* or *धकोल्* *shove* (cf. *ढक्का* or *धक्का* a *shove*); *बहल्* *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. *बह्* *flow*); *भिसल्* *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. *भित्* H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. *भास्*); *कगड्* *quarrel*; *लथड्* *be dragged* or *लथेड्* *draggle*; *लताड्* or *लतेड्* (lit. *kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. *लात्* or *लत्* a *kick* and *लतर* an *old shoe*); *कपट्* *spring* or *कपेट्* *attack suddenly* (cf. *कप्* *quick*); *चपट्* *be flattened* or *चपेट्* *flatten* (cf. R. *चाप्* or *चाँप्* *press* and N. *चाप्* a *bow*); *रपट्* *slip* or *रपेट्* *chase* (cf. *रापी* or *राँपी* an *iron scraper* or *knife*); *लपट्* *adhere* or *लपेट्* *enclose, fold* (cf. N. *लप्* *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*); *घसट्* or *घसिट्* or *घसोट्* *drag* (cf. R. *घस्* *rub*); *बुकोट्* *scratch* (cf. *बुकट्* or *बुक्का* *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gd., but introduced from W. Gd. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gd. there are causal roots in *अल्* or *अला* (W. H.), *आड* or *आवाड* (G.), *आर्* or *आरा* (S.); e. g., W. H. *बिठला* or *बिठाल्* *cause to sit*, G. *खवाड्* *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. *डियार्* *cause to give*, *घारार्* *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gd. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gd.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in *ēd* (infinit. in *ēdal*), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., *bahēd* *flow* (cf. E. H. *बहल्*), *matēd* *be broken* (cf. Skr. *मृष्ट* *rubbed*); *kēd* *be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., *āvrēd* *hear*, *blōsēd* *torment*, *puštēd* *ask* (cf. Skr. *पृष्ट* *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as *zang* or *zangēd* *swing*, *kr* *do* and *kēd* *be done*; just as in E. H. *चाँप्* and *चपेट्* *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with *ēd* in Pashtu¹⁾.

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in *ēd* as being compounds with *kēd* *be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in *ēd*; moreover the R. *kēd* itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R. *kr* *do*.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. अल, इल, अड, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or वट् (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. वृत् (Pr. वट्), of which the terminal ट् (or अट्, एट्, एड्) is the sole remnant, as क् (of R. कृ, Pr. क्क) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. धर्षे वर्तते *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = *धर्षवर्तयति den. of *धर्षवर्त्त, Pr. *धस्त्वट् = *धस्त्वट् = *धस्त्वट् = E. H. धसेटै or धसीटै. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in क्; thus कपट् and कपक्; चपट् and चपक्; लपट् *cling* and लपक् *spring*; cf. also E. H. औचट् and औचक् *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus गरुत् *thunder* (Skr. गर्त); त्याग् *abandon* (Skr. त्याग); धूप् *perfume* (Skr. धूप); भोग् *enjoy* (Skr. भोग); लोभ् *be enamoured* (Skr. लोभ), etc.

THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

FIRST CHAPTER. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. मीत् *friend*, lg. f. मित्वा or °वौ, red. f. मितौवा or °वौ or मितौ; fem. sh. f. खाट् *bed*, lg. f. खटिया or °यौ, red. f. खटियवा or °वौ;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or °वाँ or बेटौ;
 fem. sh. f. सीता *Sítá*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °वाँ; in
 इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °वाँ;
 fem. sh. f. आँखि *eye*, lg. f. आँखिया or °याँ; red. f. आँखियवा or °वाँ;
 in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or °याँ; red.
 f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axle*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ;
 red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीवा or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तहू *tree*, lg. f.
 तहूवा or °वाँ; red. f. तहूअवा or तहूवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु
daughter-in-law, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुअवा or पतोहुवा or
 °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. नाऊ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नौवा or °वाँ;
 red. f. नउअवा or नौअवा or नउवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-*
in-law, lg. f. बहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहुअवा or बहुवा or °वाँ, etc.

Note: Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used;
 as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रमै or रमैया *Rám*.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in अ) admit of
 two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (espe-
 cially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The
 weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to
 it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained
 in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेड़ or भेड़ा *ram*,
 माथ् or माया *forehead*, बास् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*,
 etc.; fem. भेड़ or भेड़ी *ewe*, लाह् or लाठी *staff*, मूह् or मूठी *fist*, etc.;
 in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*;
 fem. बाति or बाती *wick, light*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or
 ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पीलु or पीलू *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहु
daughter-in-law, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in अ;
 masc. सोनारू *goldsmith*, कहारू *porter*, देव *god*, बाघ् *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घर
house, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात्
word, event, नाँक् *nose*, नींदू *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लरिका
 or झोकरा *boy*, बनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, काँठा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*,
 मोठा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgá*, सीता *Sítá*, or
 semitats., as किरपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. gene-
 rally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिवि *a Rishi*, etc.;
 fem. आगि *fire*, आँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,

माली *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नाती *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोन्ही *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लरिक्की or कोकरी *girl*, माई *mother*, टोपी *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माखो *fly*, etc. 6) Only in ३; rarely, masc. tats. तरु *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. deest. 7) Only in ३; masc. नाऊ *barber*, पहरा *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindú*, आलू *potato*, पेटू or खाऊ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, जोरू *wife*, जलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

Note: On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. tats., like दुर्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हौंडा *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हौंडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neut. become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and उ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or उए, fem. इआ or उआ; thus Pr. fem. घोडिआ *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेलिए *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेली; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालुआ *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. बिच्छुए *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिछू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and उ (Pr.) or इः, उः (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or

fem., always becomes अ in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. राजा or राजा king, E. H. राज् or रै; Pr. fem. वक्ता word, E. H. बात्), no E. H. short form in आ can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. आ of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. अए, therefore all E. H. short forms in आ must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. ई of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in आ, stands for a Pr. fem. इआ, all such E. H. short forms in ई must be fem. — Finally the termin. आ of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. आह, fem. आअ (§§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. नतिया grandchild = Mg. नत्तिआह (Skr. नप्तृकः, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. बुद्धिया old woman is also = Mg. बुद्धिआअ. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. अक्षि eye, Pr. n. अच्छि or f. अच्छो or *अकली, E. H. f. अँलि; Skr. m. रश्मिः cord, Pr. m. or f. रस्सी, E. H. f. रस्सी¹); Skr. m. अञ्जलिः handful, Pr. m. or f. अंजली, E. H. f. (also m.) अंजलि; Skr. बलिः offering, Pr. m. or f. बली, E. H. f. बली; Skr. m. विधि (good) conduct, Pr. m. or f. बिही, E. H. f. बिही; Skr. n. पृष्ठम् back, Pr. n. पिट् or f. पिटी, E. H. f. पीठ्; Skr. m. कुक्षिः belly, Pr. m. or f. कुच्छी, E. H. f. कोछ् or कोख्; Skr. n. चौर्यम्, Pr. n. चोरिअं (Vr. 3, 20) or f. चोरिआ (Spt. 210), E. H. f. चोरी¹). Again Skr. m. ग्रन्थिः knot, Pr. m. or f. गंठी (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. गाँठ् (also m.); Skr. m. बाहुः arm, Pr. m. बाहू or f. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. बाह् or बाँह्; Skr. n. अन्तुम् intestines, Pr. f. अंती (in Ap. अंत्रडी H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. अँत्; Skr. n. अस्थि or अस्थिकम् bone, Pr. n. अट्ठिअं (cf. Spt. 100) or f. अट्ठी (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. अँठी. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. चोरिआ is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. चौरिका (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. रस्सी is really derived from the masc. रस्ता; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. अग्नि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अगो (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9^b); E. H. f. देह *body* (but S. m. डेहु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोऽह *oath*, Skr. m. शपथः or n. शपथम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सत्रहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंदू or बिंदी or बूंदू or बूंदी *drop*, Skr. m. बिन्दुः, Pr. m. बिंदू or n. बिंदुं (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. बाई *wind*, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाउ (Vr. 5, 18)¹). The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूंदी) and बाई seem to be diminutives (Pr. *विदिन्ना, *वाइन्ना) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms *विन्दा, *वाया; just as Pr. fem. वाहा and masc. वाहू *arm*. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वथु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्तु and धातु), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are tats., which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रवृष् *rainy season*, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् or पावस्²). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. कर्म (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. यशः *renown*, A. Mg. m. जसे (Bh. 420) or Mh. जसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पये, E. H. m. पय or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चक्खू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्खुं), E. H. m. चक्ख, etc. Sometimes also the change took

1) E. H. f. तौत् *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 69 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री. — The E. H. बाई *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सर्ओ = Skr. f. शरद्, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. शरद्. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रवृषः.

place in the case of neut. in अ (Skr. nom. sing. अम्; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल्; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुःखं or m. दुःखे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुख्; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. णाअणं or m. णाअणो or णयणो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वअणं or m. वअणो or वयणो, Ap. वयणु (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वयन् or बैन्; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोअणं or m. लोअणो or लोयणो, E. H. m. लोयन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिअअं (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हियर् (Bh. 394, also हउक्के) or Mh. हिअओ (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिया; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धणो (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धणु (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिर् (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिर् (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर्. In Gd. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम् (base दामन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर, M. n. घर, but E. H. m. घर; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. घिअं, M. n. घी, but E. H. m. घी; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिअं, M. n. दही, but E. H. m. दही; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानी, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्लिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्तिअं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोती, but E. H. m. मोती; Skr. n. मस्तिक्कम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्तिअं, M. n. माती, but E. H. m. माथी; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोअअं or सोअयं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोने, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. n. अंसुअं, M. n. अंसू, but E. H. m. अँसू (O. H. अंसुअ in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. जुअं, M. n. जू, but E. H. m. जू or strong form जुआ; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्त्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. करिअवुअं, Ap. n. करेवुअं (H. C. 4, 438) or करिवुअं, W. H. n. करिबौ or m. करिबौ, O. m. करिआ, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिब् or करब्.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in अनौँ and डबौँ or अन्नौँ, as indicated by the final anunásika. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun लोग् *people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either चेलालोग् or less frequently चेला, from sing. चेला; or *daughters* बेटीलोग् or बेटो, from sg. बेटो. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is घोरा but not घोरालोल्; *words* is बात्, not बातलोग्, from the sing. घोरा and बात्. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with लोग्, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

Exception. A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as जन् *man*, pl. जने; मनुख् *man*, pl. मनइ.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. अन्, इन्, उन् are added to subst. in अ or आ, इ or ई, उ or ऊ respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign लोग्. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct* form. See examples in § 379.

Exception. Subst. in ई, signifying *inanimate* objects, do

not make the oblique plur. (with इन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gds., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. र्ता, N. ह; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in हे or ह (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. ob. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेल्ले, nom. pl. चेल्ले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-र्ता, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-ह or चेलाह-ह, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of अ-bases, ended in ए (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारे pl. of कुमार *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gds. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gds., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोगन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोगन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gds. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग *class*, सकल् or सब् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gds. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चेले, obl. चेलो, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलाव् or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलाओ. However, in G. the final anunásika (Pr. anusvára), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gds. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gd. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gd. (exc. S.) and N. Gd., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in ञा. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ओ, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and ऊ is different from the direct. In S. Gd. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिर् or सामिन् = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिओ, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिन्नाह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिन्नाहो or °हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिन्नाह, S. सामिन्, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोडर् or घोडन् = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोडा, or nom. sg. Mh. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ = dir. f. S. घोडे; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोडिन्नाह = obl. f. M. घाड्या (for *घोड्या), E. H. (lg. f.) घोडवा; or gen. sg. Ap. घोडिन्नाहो or घोडिन्नाहे = obl. f. O. H. घोडिन्नाह or O. P. घोडिन्नाहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोडा, P., H. H. घोडे. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gd. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gd., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

Direct forms singular

of weak bases	in ષ	ષ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. ડ m., ષ f.
	in ઙ	ંગ; exc. M., H. H. ઙ m. n., ઙ or ષ f.
	in ઙ	ડ.
of strong bases	in ળ	E. Gd., H. H., P. ળ m., Br. ળ or ળૌ m., Mw., S., N. ળૌ m., G. ળૌ m., ડ n., M. ળ or ડ m., ળૌ or ડ n., O. H. ળૌ or ળય m. ળય n.
	in ળ	ડ; exc. M. ળ m. f., ળ n., O. H. ળ m., ળય f.
	in ઙ	ડ; exc. M. ઙ m. f., ઙ n., G. ઙ c. g.

Direct forms plural in M.

of weak bases	in ષ	ળ f., ળ n.	of strong bases	in ળ	ડ n. or ળ n.
	in ઙ	ડ f.		in ળ	યા f., યે n.
	in ઙ	deest		in ઙ	લા f., લે n.

Oblique forms singular

of weak bases	in ષ	ષ; exc. B. ષ or ળ, M. ળ m. n., ળ f., O. H. ષ or ળહ or ળહિ, O. P. ષ or ળહિ.
	in ઙ	ંગ; exc. M. ળ, O. H. ળ or ળહ or ળહિ, O. P. ળ or ળહિ.
	in ઙ	ડ; exc. M. ઙ, O. H. ઙ or ઙહ or ઙહિ.
of strong bases	in ળ	B., O., E. H., Mw. ળ m., Br. ળ or ળ m., H. H., P., S. ળ m., M. ળ or ળ m. n., G. ળ m., ળ n., O. H. ળહ or ળહિ m. n.
	in ળ	ડ; exc. S. ળ, M. ળ m. n., ળ f. or ળ c. g., O. H. ળહ or ળહિ.
	in ઙ	ડ; exc. S. ઙ, M. ળ m. n., ળ f. or ઙ c. g., O. H. ઙહ or ઙહિ.

Oblique forms plural

of weak bases	in ષ	E. H. ળ, H. H. ળ, Br. ળ or ળ or ળનિ, Mw., M. ળ, P. ળ m., ળ f., G. ળ, S. ળ or ળ or ળનિ c. g., ળનિ f., O. H. ળ or ળ or ળહ or ળહિ.
	in ઙ	E. H. ળ, H. H. ળ, Br. ળ or ળ or ળનિ, Mw. ળ, P. ળ, G. ળ, M. ળ, S. ળ or ળ or ળનિ or ળનિ or ળનિ, O. H. ળ or ળહ or ળહિ.
	in ઙ	E. H. ળ, H. H. ળ, Br. ળ or ળનિ, Mw., P. ળ, G. ળ, S. ળનિ, M. ળ, O. H. ળ or ળહ or ળહિ.

N. B., in B., O., N. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases	in अ	P. इअँ m, S. अँ or ऐँ or अनि m., G. अक् (or अओ) m., अँ n., M. यँ or अँ m. n.	the rest as in the weak bases.
	in ई	Br. इयौँ or इयन् or इयनि or इन् or इनि, P. ईअँ, G. ईओ, M. यँ or ईँ.	
	in उ	Br. उअौँ or उअन् or उअनि or उन् or उनि, P. उअँ, S. उअँ or उऐँ or उअनि or उनि, M. वँ or उँ.	

Obl. forms used as nom. plur.

of weak bases	in अ	B. अ-रा or ए-रा, N. अहे-रु or अह-रु, E. H. अ, H. H. अ m., ऐँ f., Br., O. H. अ m., ऐँ f., Mw. अ m., अँ f., P. अ m., इअँ f., S. अ m., अँ or उँ f., M. अ m., G. अ m., ओ c. g.
	in इ	B. इ-रा, N. इहे-रु or इह-रु, E. H. इ, H. H., Br. इ m., इयँ f., Mw. इ m., यँ f., P. इ m., इअँ f., S. इ m., इऊँ f., G. इ m., इओ c. g., M. इ c. g.
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-रु or उह-रु, E. H. उ, H. H., W. H., P. उ m. उअँ f., S. उ m., उँ f., G. उ m. or उओ c. g., M. उ.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases	in अ	B. अ-रा, N. अहे-रु or अह-रु, E. H., Mw., S. अ m., H. H., P. ए m., Br. अ or ए m., G. अ or अक् m., अँ or ओँ n., M. ए or उ m.
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-रु or ईह-रु, E. H. ई, G. ईओ, H. H. ई m., इयँ f., Br. ई m., ईँ or इयँ f., Mw. ई m., यँ f., P. ई m., ईअँ f., S. ई m., ईयूँ f., M. ई m.
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-रु or उह-रु, E. H., S. उ, H. H., W. H. उ m., उअँ f., P. उ m., उअँ f., G. उओ or उ c. g., M. उ m.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

Note: It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in इ and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and उ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in अ, ई, उ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in अ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. मनइ men (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *man*; not मान *measure*, as Bs. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.

अन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान्, is shortened for लोगे. The shortened form मान् is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side*. But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग् ends in (quiescent) ञ्, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिग्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिग्ः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाए, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिग् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोग) it would be Skr. दिग्ः, Pr. दिसाओ, which would not produce the B. दिग्. I am inclined to believe, that दिग् is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देर्. This I divide into दे (base) and र् (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेर् *of gods* = देवदे-र्, just as देवेर् *of a god* = देवे-र् (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-र् *of a god*. Similarly it uses an other (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. र् it is देव-दे-र्. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to गे (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. गू *to do* for करू) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-गे

(or देवदिग्गे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-दि-गे-ते (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-तई to him, lit. up to him). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun दिग्ग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. दिग्ग-के and a gen. दिग्गेर was made. The form दिग्गेर, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarkable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. चैला *he was* and in S. चिम्रो, P. या; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. र occurs also in the distant Mw. रौ (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally यो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and या and यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and ह occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेरु or हरु to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. ह, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. र, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेरु is identical with the B. gen. termin. एर and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-रु or देवह-रु *gods* = B. देवे-रा (or gen. देवे-र). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., जने *men* = जनहि lit. *of man* scl. *multitude*; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable

gen.-aff. ह or (st. f.) रा (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. जनह-ह (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. जनहो केह) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen. जनह-ह-को of men, dat. जनह-ह-लाई to men, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base जन-रा, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base जन-दा or जन-द, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. जन-दे-रू of men, dat. जन-दि-गे to men, etc. But, as in the case of the B. दिग्, the true nature of the N. हेह or हह is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. आ, f. ए, m. f. ई, m. f. ऊ, and (st. f.) m. या, वा, f. ये, वे; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. आँ, ईँ, ऊँ, and (st. f.) m. f. याँ, वाँ. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. अ, इ, उ, and (st. f.) m. f. आ or ए (= अअ), इअ, उअ (or in the other Gds. contracted ई, ऊ); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. आँ or ऐ (in W. H. औँ, ओँ), and (st. f.) m. f. इआँ or इऐ, उआँ or उऐ (in W. H. इयौँ or इयोँ, उयौँ or उयोँ). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ. The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr. स्स (or ण्ण = Skr. स्य) or ह (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin.: 1) अस्स, इस्स, उस्स and 2) आह, ईह, उह or, with strong bases, 1) अअस्स, इअस्स, उअस्स and 2) अआह, इआह, उआह. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1st set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आस, ईस्, उस् or (st. f.) यास् (for अयास् or इआस), वास् (for उआस्), and the 2nd set (dropping ह¹) आ, ई, उ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इआ), वा (for उआ). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2nd set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इया, उवा (with euph. य् and व्). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा to a God = Dk. Pr. देवस्स or देवाह, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position साठी, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position आठी (= Ap. Pr. अट्टहिं, Skr. अर्थे for the sake of); thus M. देवासाठी lit. for the sake of God, i. e. देवास् आठी = Dk. Pr. देवस्स अट्टहिं, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2nd set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई lit. for the benefit of God = Dk. देवाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देव्या लाई = Dk. देवयाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवकस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देववा के lit. at the side of God, A. Mg. देवआह कहि, Skr. देवकस्य कत्ते. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and उ is in Pr. ए (= Skr. यास्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gd. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, उअ or, with strong bases, इआअ, उआअ. In M., these become ए (for आय with euph. य्), ई and उ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, उआ or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gd. tendency to drop a final ह, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *shāh* king is often spelled सा, and *sh* lion सी; e. g., करी आनि साहाब सा बन्धि गोरी, *Revatata* 43; or रा चावँड जैतसी *Devagiri* 51 for साहाब साह and जैतसीह.

य् and व्). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. जीमे of a tongue, contr. for Dk. जीमाय or जिम्माय or जिम्माइ or जिम्माए = Skr. जिह्वायाः, of M. जीम्, Dk. जिम्मा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and ऊ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and ऊ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू scorpion has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती elephant has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्त्या); f. घोड़ी mare has obl. f. घोड़ी, (not घोड़्ये), f. सासू mother-in-law has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and ऊ may be contractions of या, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)¹). The same remarks apply to the E. Gd. obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, ऊ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोरा of a horse might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोडआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोडअहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4. 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आणं, ईणं, उणं and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, उहँ, or, with strong bases, 1) अआणं, इआणं, उआणं and 2) अआहँ, इआहँ, उआहँ. In M. the 1st set becomes आँना, ईँना, उँना²) or (st. f.) याँना (for अयान or इयान), वाँना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोड्या; analogously Skr. वर्त्मसरकः should be, in M., nom. वाटसरा, obl. वाटसर्वा, but it becomes वाटसर, obl. वाटसरा. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोडए, gen. घोडआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वटसरउ, gen. वटसरअह or हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आँ + ना, ईँ + ना, उँ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उमान), and the 2nd set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) अँ, ईँ, उँ or (st. f.) यँ (for अयँ or इयँ), वँ (for उवँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) अन्, इन्, उन्, or (lg. f.) अवन्, इयन्, उमन्, and the 2nd set (lg. f.) अवँ, इयँ, उमँ (with euph. व् and य्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1st set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलान् of *women*, द्रव्यान of *riches*, गुरुन् to *teachers* (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1st set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवैना to *Gods* = Dk. देवाणं, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1st set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. *in the midst of Gods* = A. Mg. देवाण मकि, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2nd set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H.¹⁾, also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवँ ठाईँ lit. *in the place of Gods* = Dk. देवाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देव्यँ ठाईँ = Dk. देव्याहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्थ°; or (lg. f.) E. H. देववँ मे *in a God* = A. Mg. देवआहँ मकि, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ई and उ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ईँ and उँ for या, वा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईँ and उँ, which might be contractions of यँ and वँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्ती *elephant* has obl. pl. हत्तीँ (not हत्त्यों), विंचू *scorpion* has obl. pl. विंचवँ or विंचूँ. — 6) *Deriv. of the S. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु

one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is one suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final अ; the forms ought to be अँन, ईँन, उँन.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gd., see § 367, 5.

and 2) अहे, इहे, उहे or अहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) अमहो, इमहो, उमहो or अमहु, इमहु, उमहु and 2) अमहे, इमहे, उमहे or अमहि, इमहि, उमहि. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1st set becomes अह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) अ, इ, उ, and the 2nd set अहि or ए (contr. for अहि = अइ), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) अमह, इमह, उमह or आ (for अम), इम, उम, and 2) अमहि or आय (for अमइ) or ऐ or ए, इमहि, उमहि. The 1st set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2nd set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु अविचारह । *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुवानह पास । *by the side of the Chahuván* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै बेराधारा ऽ सो तै ले संसारहि पारा ॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or जीवहि मरन न होइ ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रणउँ पुर नर नारि बहोरी । ममता जिन पर प्रभुहि न थोरी ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै बिचारा ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H.¹⁾; thus रंगअवनि सब मुनिहि दिखाई ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or आपु जुवराजपद रामहि देउ ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., अनहि to another (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., ककुँ सम बान ततारह । *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or ततारह उपरह । *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or आदिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु विधि राम शिवहि समुकावा । परवती कर जन्म सुनावा ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva, and narrated the story of the birth of Parvatí* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,

in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma*, प्रपाउँ पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town*, पियारी संतत (for पियारिअ) *offspring of the beloved one*, etc. In modern Gd. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or उ and 2) आय् or ऐ or ए. The 2nd set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theth bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gd. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दीने *to the poor*, O. Gd. दीनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् *to copper*, O. Gd. तामाहि or तामअहि, Ap. तम्बअहे, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gds. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-ए *lit. done of God*, O. Gd. देवहि कर, Ap. देवहे केरु, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods*, O. Gd. देवहि करा, Ap. देवहे केरउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्गः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-ह or देवहे-ह *Gods*, O. Gd. देवह करु, Ap. देवहे or °हो केरु, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्गः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-ए, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोरा कै, Br. घोडा कौ, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे तो *of a horse*, O. Gd. घोडअह or °हि करौ or केरौ, Ap. घोडअहो or °हे केरउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले कै, Br. भलै कौ *of good*, O. H. भल्लअहि क°, Ap. भल्लअहे क°, Skr. भद्रकस्य क°. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and उ by all other Gds.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हाथी मे, but S. हथिअ मे *lit. in the midst of the elephant*, O. Gd. हथिअह माँही, Ap. हथिअहो मज्जहिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. H. etc. विछू मे, but

S. विष्णु मेँ *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gd. विष्णुह म°, Ap. विष्णुहो म°, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य म°, etc. The weak forms अ, इ, उ are common to all Gds; thus dat. sg., O. नरकु, B., E. H. नरके, Br. नर कैँ, Mw. नर नै, G. नर ने, P. नर नूँ, N. नर लाई, S. नर ले lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कक्षे. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) अहं, इहं, उहं, 2) अहुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) अहिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) अअहं, इअहं, उअहं, 2) अअहुं, इअहुं, उअहुं, 3) अअहिं, इअहिं, उअहिं. In O. H. the 3^d set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old. gen.); thus मातुपितृहिं पुनि यह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dás. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह असीस सबहिं सुखमानी *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dás, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहूँ lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter or if there is love of you for your daughter*¹). In modern Gd., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) अँ, ईँ, ऊँ, 2) औँ or ओँ, (इहुँ *deest*), ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, ईँ, (उहिँ *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) अँ, इयँ or यँ, उअँ or वँ, 2) औँ or ओँ, इयौँ or इयोँ or इयूँ, उअौँ or उओँ or ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, इऐँ or ईँ, उऐँ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds., as follows. The forms अँ (wk. or st.), इयँ or यँ, उअँ or वँ occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms औँ or ओँ (wk. or st.), इयौँ or इयोँ, उअौँ or उओँ in Br. and H. H.; the forms ऐँ (wk. or st.), इऐँ, उऐँ in S., and the st. forms ईँ and ऊँ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नरँ मेँ lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. पारहं मङ्कहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरौँ मेँ, H. H. नरोँ मेँ, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तब रामहिं बिलोकि बैदेही *then Vaidehí having beheld Ráma* (T. Dás, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरुं म°; S. नरे° मे°, Ap. पारहिं म°; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोडाँ मे°
in the midst of horses, Ap. घोडमहं मरुहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br.
 घोडाँ मे°, H. H. घोडाँ मे°, Ap. घोडमहुं म°; S. घोडाँ मे°, Ap. घोडमहिं म°,
 etc. Again M. dat. pl. हत्तीं ला lit. *for the benefit of elephants*,
 Ap. हत्तिमहिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms
 are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369¹). — 8) I add
 a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak*
bases in अः masc. or neut., जल *water*; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg.
 Pr. (a) जलश्च or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr.
 (c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O. Gd. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gd. (c)
 जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. जिह्वा *tongue*, gen. sg.
 Skr. जिह्वायाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जिम्भाए or जिम्भाइ or जिम्भाअ or जिम्भाय
 (with euph. य्), M. (a) जिभे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) जिम्भहो or (c) जिम्भहे,
 O. Gd. (b) जीभह or (c) जीभहि, M. Gd. (b) जीभ (in all) or (c) जीभे
 (in B., O.). Gen. plur., Skr. जलानाम्, जिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलापां,
 जिम्भापां or (b) जलाहँ, जिम्भाहँ, M. (a) जलाना, जिम्भाना or (b) जलान्,
 जिम्भान्, E. H. (a) जलन्, जीभन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, जीभन् or जीमनि,
 S. (a) जलनि, जीभुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, जिम्भहं or (d) जलहुं, जिम्भहुं
 or (e) जलहिं, जिम्भहिं, O. H. (e) जलहिं, जिम्भहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलान्,
 जिम्भान्, Br. (d) जलौ, जीभौ, H. H. (d) जलौ, जीभौ, S. (d) जले, जिभे. —
Strong bases in अः masc. or neut., ताम्रक *copper*; gen. sg., Skr.
 ताम्रकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तमुयश्च or (b) तमुयाह (with euph. य्); M.
 (a) ताम्र्यास् or (b) ताम्र्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) तामवा (with euph. व्);
 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तमुयहो or (d) तमुयहे, O. Gd. (c) ताम्राह or (d) ताम्राहि,
 O., E. H. (c) तामा, W. H., N., G. (c) ताम्रा, B. (c) तामा or (d)
 तामाय, P., H. H. (d) ताम्रै, S. (d) टामे. Fem., see fem. strong bases in इ.
 Gen. plur., Skr. ताम्रकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तमुयापां or (b) तमुयाहँ,
 M. (a) ताम्र्याना or (b) ताम्र्यान्, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) तामवन् (with euph. व्)
 or (b) तामवान् (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous
 short form तामन्, Br. तामन् or तामनि, S. टामनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c)
 तमुयहं or (d) तमुयहुं or (e) तमुयहिं, P., Mw. (c) ताम्रा, S. (c) टाम्रान्,
 Br. (d) ताम्रौ, H. H. (d) ताम्रौ, S. (e) टामे. Fem., see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg.
 or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in इ*: masc. or neut., कवि *poet.*; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविष्ठा or (b) कवीह, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (c) कविह or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भित्ति *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. भित्त्याः or भित्तेः (lit. भित्तिस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भित्तिष्ठा or (b) भित्तीह, M. (a) भौत्तीस् or (b) भौत्ती; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भित्तिहो or (d) भित्तिहे, O. Gd. (c) भौतिह or (d) भौतिहि. P., S. (c) भिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भौत. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भित्तीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणां, भित्तीणां or (b) कवीहँ, भित्तीहँ, M. (a) कवीन्ना, भौत्तीन्ना or (b) कवीँ, भौत्तीँ, E. H. (a) कविन्, भौतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भौतिन् or भौतिनि, S. कविनि, भितिनि or (lg. f.) भित्तिअनि or भित्तिउनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भित्तिहं or (d) कविहुं, भित्तिहुं or (e) कविहिं, भित्तिहिं, O. H. (e) कविहिं, भौतिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविअहं, भित्तिअहं or (d) कविअहुं, भित्तिसहुं or (e) कविअहिं, भित्तिअहिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कवियँ, Br. (d) कवियौँ, H. H. (d) कवियोँ, भौतियोँ, S. (e) कविँ, भित्तिँ. — *Strong bases in इ*: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिअष्ठा or (b) मालिअह, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिअहो or (d) मालिअहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिअह or (d) मालिअहि, S. (c) मालिअ, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिअहो or (b) घोडिअहे, O. Gd. (a) घोडिअह or (b) घोडिअहि, S. (a) घोडिअ, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडी. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. *स्त्रियाए or *स्त्रियाइ or *स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोरिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिअणां, घोडिअणां or (b) मालिअहँ, घोडिअहँ, M. (a) माल्याँना, घोड्याँना or (b) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोरियन् or (b) मलियाँ, घोरियाँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालियनि, घोडियनि, S. (a) मालिअनि or माल्यनि or मालिउनि or माल्युनि, घोडिअनि or घोडिउनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोरिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिअहं, घोडिअहं or (d) मालिअहुं, घोडिअहुं or (e) मालिअहिं, घोडिअहिं, S. (a) मालिअँ or माल्याँ, घोडिअँ or घोड्याँ, Mw. (a) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, P. (a) मालीअँ, घोडीअँ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियौ, घोडियौ, H. H. (d) मालियो, घोडियो, S. (e) मालिऐ, घोडिऐ. — *Weak bases in ३*: masc. or neut., गुरु teacher; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुग्रा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरुस् or (b) गुरु; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gd. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gd. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरुणाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूपां or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरुन्ना or (b) गुरु, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gd.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुग्रहं or (d) गुरुग्रहुं or (c) गुरुग्रहिं, P. (c) गुरुग्रौ, Mw. (c) गुर्वौ, Br. (d) गुरुग्रौ, H. H. (d) गुरुग्रौ, O. H. (e) गुरुग्रिं or गुरुग्रहिं. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in ३*: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक scorpion; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्रया or (b) विच्छुग्रह, M. (a) विच्छास् or (b) विच्छा, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) बिच्छुग्रा or बिच्छुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहो or (d) विच्छुग्रहे, O. Gd. (c) विच्छुग्रह or (d) विच्छुग्रहि, S. (c) विच्छुग्र, E. H. (c) विच्छु, M. (c) विच्छु. *Fem.* बालुका sand; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुग्राए or बालुग्राइ or बालुग्राय, M. (a) बालु, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बलुग्रा or बलुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुग्रहो or (c) बालुग्रहे, O. Gd. (b) बालुग्रह or (c) बालुग्रहि, S. (b) बालुग्र, E. H., etc. बालु. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्रापां or (b) विच्छुग्राह, M. (a) विच्छांना or (b) विच्छाँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विच्छुग्रन् or (b) विच्छुग्रौ (but used in the sing.), Br. विच्छुग्रन् or विच्छुग्रनि, S. विच्छुग्रनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विच्छुन्, Br. and S. विच्छुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहं or (d) विच्छुग्रहुं or (e) विच्छुग्रहिं, P. and S. (c) विच्छुग्रौ, Mw. (c) विच्छुग्राँ, Br. (d) विच्छुग्रौ, H. H. (d) विच्छुग्रौ, S. (e) विच्छुग्राँ. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final *anunásika* in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो Gods for *देवौ, Ap. देवहुं; fem. जीभो tongues for *जीभौ, Ap. जिब्भहु; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ¹⁾

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with उ or व्, as written for me by a Pandit. But it is quite customary now in Gd., to spell the same final sound as उ or व् or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देव् or देओ god, चडाउ or चडाव् or चडाओ attack.

horses for *घोडाउँ, Ap. घोडाअहुँ; fem. पोथीउ *books*, Ap. पोथिअहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswára. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनाँव् or सोनाँउ, Ap. सोसअहुँ. On the other hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनाँ *gold* for *सोना, Ap. सोसअहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे वाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नरन्ह महि वाटै, Pr. नराणां मज्झि वट्ठइ, Skr. नराणां मध्ये वर्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. कै or कर् or O. H. केर, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also¹). In Gd. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gd. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular case, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with कै means the gen., with से the instr., with मे the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gd. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gds. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in आ = Ap. gen. in अहो, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in ऐ or ए = Ap. gen. in अहे; e. g., G. instr. घोडा ऐ or घोडे *by a horse*; Mw. loc. घोडा माँ or घोडै *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gd., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देवओ or देवउ *god* (Skr. देवकः), the gen. sg. देवहो or देवहु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of“ (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवाय *for the sake of god*; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in आदु or आउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in इ (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in आउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. णं. There are also the suff., sg. ह, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हं, हुं or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. न् + आम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both णं and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह, हँ, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and णं are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह and हँ and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gd.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Md. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)¹). Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Md. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases²). These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gd. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हुं as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Md. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Md. says: उसेस्तु हे हो च ॥ उसे: स्थाने हेहौ च स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहे पडिदु । रुक्खहो ॥ (अग्निहे) । अग्निहो ॥ बालाहे । बालाहो ॥ i. e., the abl. sg. has हे or हो, as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.

nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. हं and हुं is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 हं is ascribed to the gen. and हुं to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and हुं (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives हं to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हुं to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Md. allows both हं and हुं to all masc., both in the gen. and abl.¹). As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Md. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as the sg. gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हुं dropping the anuswára. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हं and हुं are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gds. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. हिं, both H. C. (4, 347) and Md.²) ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since हिं was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

1) Md. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ भ्यसो हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहं पडिदु ॥ परहुं चलिदु ॥ बाहुल्यात् । रुक्खाहिंतो । परेसुंतो ॥ सुपो वा । आमो वा । हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ वम्भणाहं । वम्भणाहुं । ब्राह्मणानामित्यर्थे । वम्भणापां ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes हं or हुं; as „it fell from the trees“, „he came from foreign (countries)“; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हं and हुं, as „of Bráhmans“.

2) Md. says: हिंभिस्त्रिसुपां ॥ त्रिष्वेषां हिं स्यात् । पुरिसहिं । वणाहिं । बहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take हिं in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wives“.

in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हेँ is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Md. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हेँ and हुँ to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हिं may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gd., हिं is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gd. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. एँ (contr. for अहिं); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. अहिं seems to occur in the contracted form एँ even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. sing. (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Md. are: वणएँ *by a forest*, वालाएँ *by a girl*, अगिएँ *by fire*, वाउएँ *by wind*; they would be equal to *वणाअहिं, *वालाअहि, *अगिअहिं, *वाउअहिं. Here एँ can hardly be = Skr. term. एन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in आ. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. अहि is similarly contracted to ए. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. अहिं is similarly used as a term. of the loc. sing. (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहिं or घरे or घरि *in a house*. In Gd., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हेँ, हुँ, हिं; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुक्खहु, but Md. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुक्खहो *from a tree* or *of a tree*; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls' conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अगिहो or अगिह *of fire*; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. H. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus *gen.* in गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । i. e., *the herdsman tends the cows of an other* (28, 62), or सेन भीमह करि किन्निय । i. e., *he dispersed the Army of Bhima* (38, 41), or चख्यो उदै क्रूरह बलिय । i. e., *he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn* (27, 47), or बन जूथ मृग सिंहह रु गज । i. e., *in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants* (27, 13); *abl.* in फूलह सुधार धर । *having adorned the body with flowers* (38, 37) or तब सुमंत परधानह पुक्षिय । i. e., *then he asked good counsel of the Premier* (28, 88);

loc. ज्ञाने कि अकासह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day*, i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or न्याय तौ कलह न किञ्चै । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); act. बीसलह राज कथि पुञ्ज कथ्य । i. e., *Viśala rāja told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप सु कंठि तुमरह । i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); acc. अनंगपालह बुलाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpāla* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह लैआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एताहे *now*, lit., *in that*, scl. *time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एताहे is an abl. *from that*, H. C. 3, 82. 83), or एतहे *in this*, तेतहे *in that*, scl. *place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after a-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छइ *behind*, after (H. C. 4, 420 for *पच्छहि), अगइ *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एवइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अइ) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for *तलइ or *तलहि¹). In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)²); see H. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Md. स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ बुद्धिए । धेनुए । पाइए । बहुए । वालाए ॥ i. e., fem. bases also take ए (viz. besides एं, as वालाएं), as *by intelligence*, *by a cow*, *by a river*, *by a wife*, *by a girl*; contr. for *बुद्धिअहि, *पाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen.* in राजहि तुम पर प्रीति विशेषी *there is a special love of*

1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. पाइए or पाइइ or पाइअ, but in the Ap. पाइए.

the king for you (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपज्यौ (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि पूछ करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि काज रिषि आयौ घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेरिहि आदर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुबरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form ए is used in B. and O., to express the dat.-acc., loc. and instr.; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the nom. (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the instr. (or act.) and loc.; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the loc.; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. gen. plur. suff. are sometimes used in the sing. Thus in the Ap., the suff. हिं (or the term. अहिं), which commonly expresses the loc. or instr. pl. (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the loc. sg.; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form एं, for the instr. sg. (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अगिएं *by fire* for *अगिअहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. H. the suff. हिं is as often used for the dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौं नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in निज लोकहिं विरंच गये देवन्ह इहै सिखाइ। i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form ईँ, both in the loc. sg. and plur. (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरौँ *in a house or in houses* for *घरहिं; and, in the contracted form एँ, in the instr. sg. (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरैँ *by a house* for *घरहिं¹). Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. instr. in एँ is seldom used except with the postpositions करूँ or कइँ (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a gen.

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ऐँ or ऐ, in the loc. sing.; as पाछैँ or पाछेँ *behind, after* for *पच्छहिं (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुं (or term. अहुं) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms अउँ or ओँ or उँ (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form ओँ (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form उ; thus S. घरउँ or घरौँ or घरँ, P. घरौँ *from a house*, or P. पाछौँ, W. H. पाछू *behind, after*, for *घरहुं, *पच्छहुं. Again the suff. हं (or termin. अहं), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form अं (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरँ *in a house or in houses*, for *घरहं; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ *here, lit. in this, scl. place*, for *एहहं (Skr. ईदृशे); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरँ *from a house*, मंकाँ *from within*, for *मन्कहिं. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आहँ (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडवाँ (कै of) *a horse*, for Mg. घोडआहँ; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gd. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. स्त (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्त is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्त *of whom* (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस *why* = *किस्त (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = *किस्ते (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gd. this process is extended to all gen., including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. त्रास *of which*, तास *of him* (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्त (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has स्सु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तासु, नासु; e. g., तासु किन्ती चंद कहिय *of him the glory Chand has told* (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in अस (perhaps = Ap. असु); e. g., पुत्री वरी उजेन दिसि । पहिलै पंगस पुत्र ॥ i. e., *a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Panga* (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in असि (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्य, however, also changes in Pr. to ह or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्य becoming ह, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिइ for स्यामि, स्यति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.¹). Thus Pr. abl. वच्छाहि *from a calf* (lit. gen. of a calf), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्छाह *of a calf*, Pr. गिरीहि *from a mountain*, गुरुहि *from a teacher* (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्य (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final ए being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्छहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे²). In O. Gd. it is shortened to हि (as वच्छहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhramṣa (probably Gujarātī or Marwārī) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. असु in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एताहे *from that* (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एतहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)¹), which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्य. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with an assumed Skr. suff. स्व. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. भ्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to ओ or हो (cf. Pr. जीहा or जिह्मा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. plur. suff. The change of „number“ would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्छाणं *of calfs*. This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to एहं or एह, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular; a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. लक्ष् = Skr. स्याणुः, Pr. तुपिहक्को = Skr. तूष्णीकः, Pr. युल्लो = Skr. स्यूलः, etc. (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ए is changed to एह (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. एह *nha* is changed to हं *ham* (projecting the *anusvāra*, for *mha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvāra* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. °घानाम् is in Pr. *असं = अपहं = अहं = अहँ. The form एहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचपहं *of five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइपहं *of how many* = Skr. कतीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gd. all three forms are used

¹ Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though न्ह or न is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvāra* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे^० (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भिस्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्याम्¹), which would regularly change in Pr. to हें or हिं (for भें or भिं), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहिं to men, S. act. नरे^० by men or obl. नरे^० खे to men.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. जन men with the S. obl. sg. जन man (nom. sg. जन्), and the E. H. nom. pl. जने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिस्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्यम् in Skr., as तुभ्यम् to thee. — If हुं be rightly identified with सुन्तो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो (Vr. 5, 7).

with the B. obl. sg. जने; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. जीभै^७ or जीभे^७ *tongues* with the S. obl. pl. जिभे^७; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. जीभाँ or जिभाँ with the S. obl. pl. जिभाँ; the S. nom. pl. जिभू with the abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) जिभू; the W. H., P. nom. pl. भित्तियाँ *walls* with the S. obl. pl. भित्तियाँ; the S. nom. pl. भित्तिऊँ with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) भित्तिऊँ (or भित्तूँ), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. घोडे *horses* with the P., H. H. and S. obl. sg. घोडे; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. घोडा *horses* with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. घोडा; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. सोनाँ *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. सोनाँ; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. घोडियाँ *mares* with the S. obl. pl. घोडियाँ; the S. nom. pl. घोडिऊँ with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) घोडिऊँ; the W. H. nom. pl. पोथी^७ *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. पोथी^७ *in books*¹⁾; the W. H. and P. nom. pl. सासुआँ *mothers-in-law* with the S. obl. pl. सासुआँ, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of *fem.* nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of *masc.* and *neut.* it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as लोग *people*, मन *troup*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old *gen.* (§ 366). In B. it is actually the *gen.* sg. (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. देवे, *gen.* sg. देवे-रू *of a god*, nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods*; here रा is merely the strong form of रू; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the *gen.* sg., composed of the

1) The form पोथी^७, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction for पोथिहँ = Ap. पोथिअहिं.

gen.-affix रु (for कृ or केरु, § 377) and the O. Gd. gen. sg. in हे or ह (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. देवहे or देवह, N. nom. pl. देवहे-रु or देवह-रु *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. घोडे *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. घोडअहे scl. गणु = Skr. घोटकस्य गणाः, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in इ, उ, ई, ऊ is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e.g., E. H. nom. sg. रमवा or रमवाँ, M. राम्या (for *रामया) *Rāma* = obl. form E. H. रमवा or रमवाँ, M. राम्या = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. रामआह or pl. रामआहँ (see § 365, 1. 4)¹). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in अ, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in आ. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be देवे *a god*, घोडाय् *a horse* (for the usual देव, घोडा), both obl. forms = O. Gd. gen. sg. देवहि, घोडाहि (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. घोडा *a horse* = O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. घोडाह or घोडअह, Ap. Pr. घोडअहो. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gds. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw. घोडो, Br. घोडौ = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. घोडउ, Pr. घोडओ; E. H., B., O., M. घोडा = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. घोडअ or घोडइ or घोडए (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. घोटकः; again E. H., B., O., M. देव *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. देव or देवि or देवे; W. H., P., G., N. देव or S., O. W. H., O. P. देवु = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. देवु, Pr. देवो, Skr. देवः. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. ईं (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr. नि), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also ईं, but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr. आइं, ईइं, ऊइं, in Ap. Pr. अइं, इइं, उइं, or with strong bases अअइं, इअइं, उअइं. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. रामए; for ए could not well become आ; and it would not account for the final *anunāsika* in E. H.

come in M. एँ (इँ and उँ *desunt*) or, with strong bases, ऐँ or ईँ, येँ, वेँ. Thus M. घरेँ houses, Ap. घरइँ, Pr. घराइँ, Skr. गृहाणि; M. वाँसरेँ calves, Ap. वच्छउअइँ, Skr. वत्स°; M. केलीँ plantains, Ap. केलअइँ, Pr. कयलअइँ (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरकाणि; M. मोत्येँ pearls, Ap. मोत्तिअइँ, Pr. मोत्तिअइँ, Skr. मौक्तिकानि; M. अंसुँ (or अंसवेँ), Ap. अंसुअइँ, Pr. अंसुअइँ, Skr. अश्रुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. जीभा tongues (nom. pl. of जीभ), Pr. जिब्भा or जिब्भाउ or जिब्भाओ, Skr. जिह्वाः; or M. घोड़्या mares, Pr. घोडिआ or घोडिआउ or घोडिआओ, Skr. घोटिकाः; or M. सास्रा (or सासवा) mothers-in-law, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआउ or सासुआओ, Skr. श्वश्रुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Md. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सूमोः ॥ सुमोहत् स्यात् ॥ चन्दु । राउ । अगिउ । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon, king, fire, honey*; b) होअ ॥ सुमोर् हो च स्यात् ॥ रुक्खहो ॥ i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सौ पुंस्य अत ओ कुचित् ॥ सप्पो ॥ i. e., masc. *a*-bases have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) तसो हे च ॥ रुक्खहे । वालाहे ॥ *a*-bases have also *हे* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees, girls*; e) स्त्रियाम् उच्च च तज्जसोः ॥ वालाउ ॥ चकाराद् वालाहे ॥ i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or *हे* in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इं नपुंसके दीर्घो वा ॥ नपुंसके तज्जसोर् इं स्यात् ॥ प्राग् दीर्घो वा ॥ वपाइँ । वपाइँ ॥ मुहूइँ । मुहुइँ ॥ i. e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods, honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gds. is identical with some one Gd. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (of a) horse, oh horse, or horses; H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडो, P. घोडिउ (= *घोडयु or *घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडो; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोड़्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड्या or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns¹). The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Md. states: सम्बुद्धौ सौ हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत्य् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीवच् च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be वाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for वाले is a mere contraction for वालहे or वालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as जिभे *oh tongue*, मावे^० *oh mother*, पीए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Md. continues: त्रिषु हो जसः ॥ त्रिषु जसो हो स्यात् ॥ रुक्खहो । वपाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gd. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or अ (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ *oh marcs* = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for *नरउ or *नरअ = *नरहु or *नरह, Ap. पारहो. Gd. extends the contr. form आ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

1) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाँ *oh horses* or (*of*) *horses*.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or अरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Rāma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Rāma*; nom. बेटा, voc. अरे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgā*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent“, or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gd. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gds. from the E. Gds. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gd. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that“ may be in Skr. ते एतद् न खाचेरुः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् खनाचीर्णम्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं एअं खणाइअं. (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense*, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an act. sense, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं गताम्. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Setub.* 6, 51 आढत्ता दीसितं पिसिअरच्छाया the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen (Skr. निशिचरच्छाया दृष्टम् आरब्धाः), and intrans., *ibid.* 8, 30 दीसितं पउत्तं

सेतुबन्धस्त मुहुं *the head of the bridge began to be seen*, or *ibid.* 7, 71
 घेष्पिउं थउत्ता पवंगा *the monkeys began to be taken*, etc. Now of these
 two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past
 tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in
 the instr. case*, was adopted by the W. and S. Gds., while the
 other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass.-act. constr. with the subj.
 in the nom. case*, was chosen by the E. and N. Gds., and, of
 course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number
 and gender with the subj. Thus „*they have not eaten that*“ is in
 E. H. ईलोग् उ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्हो^१ ने वह् न खायौ. Here खैलेन्
 is the 3^d plur. masc. 2nd pret. (formed from the past part. pass.
 खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोग् and
 governing the acc. उ; while खायौ is the nom. sg. masc. (of the
 past part. pass. खायौ) agreeing with वह् and governed by the
 instr. or rather act. इन्हो^१ ने. — It has been stated already
 (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substi-
 tute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the
 gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं
 एअं अणाइअं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the
 instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तेभिः)¹). It has also been stated (*ibid.*) that
 this Pr. tendency has become in Gd. an absolute law, and also, that
 the Gd. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen.
 Hence, as regards the W. Gd. and S. Gd., their method of ex-
 pressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr.
 with the subj. in the instr. case*, may now be stated thus, that
 they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj.
 in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason
 to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole
 of the W. and S. Gd.; that is, that in the pass. constr. the
 mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धणास्स लढो for धणोपा लढो *acquired with
 money*, or चिरस्स मुक्का for चिरेपा मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr.
 has not the sense of the act.

नेँ). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behárí Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs¹). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gd. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. नेँ, Mw. नेँ, P. नेँ; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. नेँ is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कौँ or को in Br., नेँ or ने in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुन and रान are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and त्रिहि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to“. An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or न् can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in ञ्, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. नेँ, M. sg. नेँ or pl. नीँ, P. नै, G. ने or णे, N. ले. The aff. थोँ in G. and हीँ, सीँ or शीँ in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487).

Note: On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with or from*; dat. के *to*, gen. कै, के or कर, करे *of*, loc. मे *in*. The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

Note: The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सोँ or सेन or ते or थोँ, loc. मेँ or म or माँ or माँक or माँहोँ.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) कै and के; 2) कर and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कै, के), while pron. may

take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, करू) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घरू कै सामी आवत् बा *the master of the house is coming*; घरू के सामी से कहहू *tell ye the master of the house*; घरू कै लोग् आवत् बाटै *the people of the house are coming*; घरू के तिरियालोगन् के बुलावहू *call ye the women of the house*. Again ई ओकरू or ओकै घरू बाटै *this is his house*; उ ए करे or ए के घरू मे बाटै *he is in his house*; उ ए करू or ए कै पोथी बाटै *those are his books*; उ एकरे or एके पोथी मे पढ़ैला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinities*. Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. कौ, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रौ, G. नो, P. दा, S. जो; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. जे; *nom. sg. neut.* G. नुँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. जो; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. जे or जिन्न; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे, S. जा; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे or दिन्न, S. जे or जनि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाव्, *obl. dto.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीन्न, S. जूँ or जिऊँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीन्न, S. जे or जिनि or जुनि or जिन्ननि or जिउनि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl. M.* चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चेँ, *obl. चे* or च्या; *nom. sg. fem.* M. चो, N. की, *obl. M.* चे or च्या, N. की; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चे, N. का, *obl. M.* चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. चीँ, *obl. चे* or च्या; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्या, N. की, *obl. M.* चे or च्या, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with

the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कौँ	नै
abl. instr.	हइते	रु, करु	से	से	सौँ	सूँ
gen.	रु	रु, करु	कै, करु	का	कौ	रो
loc.	ते	रे, करे	मे	मेँ	मेँ	माँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	खे	ला	लाई
abl. instr.	थो	ते	खोँ, खाँ	सीँ, हीँ, हूँ, ऊँ	सँग
gen.	नो	दा	जो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	मेँ	तूँ	मा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	नेँ	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular *cases*, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के करु बदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहू बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घरू के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घरू लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लागात् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगी 1, M. लागीँ or लागुनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लये or लए or लये^० or लौ^० or लो^० 2, P. लई 1, S. लाइ or लइ 1, G. लीधे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाई^० 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-रु or ठुँ or ठाउं 5, E. H. थो^० 5, W. H. थो^० 5, G. थो 5, P. थो^० or थो^० or O. P. थावहु or थो or थो^० 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाजि 5 or 6, M. ठाई^० 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कनै or कौनी or कणि 1, P. कनी 1, G. काने 1, S. काणे or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कनौ or कनो^० 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाहो^०, W. H. पै, P. पाहो^० 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काखे or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कँह 1, Br. कौ^० 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहं or कहुं or कहूं or काहुं 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कूँ 1, S. खे 1 or खौ or खो^० 5; g) (Skr. तरित?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताई or तई^० 2, ते or ते^० 5, P. ताई^० or तीकु or तीकुर or तेगी 2, ते or उतो^० or उताँ 5, S. ताई or तोई^० or तोगी or तोपी 2, तौ or तो^० 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्त), E. H. बाटे 1, S. वटे 1, बाटाँ 5, G. वते 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वरे), E. H. वरे 1, M. वरून 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. कान् 1, O. H. काज 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. करून 5, करिताँ 1; m) (Skr. अर्थ), M. आठी^०; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेनी 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. सौंगे or सौंगाँ 1, सेणु or साणु 5, N. सँग 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सरु or सारु 1, S. सारु 1, G. सारु 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सूधी 2, S. सूधाँ 5; q) (Skr. भवन्त^०), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हूंतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. करू or करि 4; W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दत्त्वा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पार्श्व), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासो^० 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासी^० 6, पसून् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. परू or परे 6, E. H. परू or परि 6, W. H. परू or परि or पै 6, P. परू 6, परो^० 5, S. परे 6, पराँ or परो^० 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माके 6, E. H. माँक् or माँही^० or मे^० or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मे^० or मो^० or माँ or माँय् or मई or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मडि or मकि or माँक or मज्जं or माहै^० or माँहो^० or माही or महि or मै^० 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मंके or मे^० 6, माँ or मो^० 5, G. माँ 6, O. M. माजी 6, M. मध्ये^० 6; w) (Skr. अभ्यन्तर), B. भितरू or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतरू 6; x) (Skr. कउ), M. कउे 6, कडून् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मये 6, G. माटे 1, N. माथि 6; z) (Skr. सिस्), P. सिरू 6, S. सिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्त्य), W. H. बीच् 6, P. विच् 6, O. P. विचि 6, S. विचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काँ (S. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहँ or कहँ or कहँ or काहँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., ऋधि सिधि संपति नदी सुहाईँ । उमगि अवध अंबुधि कहँ आईँ ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253 where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कच्छे *at the side of* as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्छे (as in B.), or *कक्खे or *कक्खहुं (see § 378) or probably *कहे or *कहि or *कहहुं (or *काहहुं, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहँ (or काहँ), and in M. W. H. to कौ or (with the loss of *anunásika*) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहँ). The S. खे has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह, just as in भैस् *buffalo* for वहिस or महिस, गधा *donkey* for गदहा (Pr. गदह H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीधे *for* (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लये or लए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लइ (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीधो, W. H. लयौ, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited*. This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. *for the benefit of* (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be *लहिए or *लहिअहिं or (eliding ह) लइए or लइअहिं, whence contr. W. H. लये or लये or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or *लै. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लै and ले further change to Mw. नै and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेबा (Sn. 36) *to obtain* = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब्. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or हये to भे or हे *they were* (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be *लहिअहुं or *लइअहुं (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to *लयँ or लौ or लौ. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until*. From लौ arises the P. dat. aff. नूँ. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have आ, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लाहि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of*. — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लगी, N. लागी, M. लागी^१, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until, or on account of, for*, and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्ने lit. *in contact with*. In the Ap. Pr. it is लगे or लगि, whence the Gd. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लगहिं, whence the Gd. लागी^१ or लागी or लगी^१). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागो^१ and S. लाकुं (Tr. 401, ?लागूँ?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लगहुं. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाई^१ and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठाणि or ठाणे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. आठी^१ (in the so-called postpos. साठी^१, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. अट्टहिं, Skr. अर्थे lit. *in the interest of*. — 5) The B. पाके (for पाखे, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाही^१ or पै, P. पाह् (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. *पक्खे or *पाहे or *पाहहिं, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहो^१ (Ld. 74) = Ap. *पाहहुं. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कनै or कानी^१ (Mw.), P. कनी, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of*, is = Ap. loc. कखे or कखहिं and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्णे or कार्णे (lit. *at the ear or belonging to the ear*, i. e., *side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तई^१ or तई^१, P. तई^१ or तीकु or तीकुर or तेगी (Ld. 76. 126), S. तई^१ or तोई^१ or तोगी or तोणी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to, I believe*, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, ते^१, P. ते, उतो^१, उता^१ (Ld. 77), S. तै, तो^१ (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to*, and the loc. aff., B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लगिउपा; so also might be the G. लगी = Pr. लगिअ; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागी^१, on account of the final *anunāsika*.

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तर्तित (or उत्तरित, of the R. तृ) *passed to*, hence *up-to, upon, from-upon*. The loc. तर्तिते would become Ap. तर्ति or *तर्ति (see § 124) and contract to Gd. ते, just as Gd. ले arises from लहि, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements क्, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements जी, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सर or सार, S. सार, G. सार, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृश *like*, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सरिहु or सरिहु (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. सणि (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of, for*, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सेने or सेन् or सेनी *with, from*, P. सणे *with* (Ld. 74), S. साणु or सेणु *with* (Tr. 401), N. सण from, S. सणि on account of (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + गम्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सङ्ग). The conj. ञ् would readily pass into ण् or न्, cf. पण for पञ्च (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूथी (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूथि along with (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. *सवड or *सउड), meaning *collected, adjusted*, whence *with or up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. बाटे, S. वटे (Tr. 402), G. वटे (Ed. 115), meaning *for or instead*, and the abl. aff., N. बाट, S. वटि from (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. वार्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) *welfare*, Pr. वट् or वत्त (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वार्त्ते lit. *in favor of, for*, whence *in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. वरे and the abl. aff. M. वरन् are derived from the Skr. वर *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कार्त्त is the Pr. loc. कर्त्ते, Skr. कार्ये *for the work or sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for *करि = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करन्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करित्ति which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in आस्, ईस्, उस् sg. and आना, ईना, उना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

Note: I think the identification of the S. खे with *कहे more consonant with Gd. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of रू and consequent aspiration of क् (i. e., कृते = कृते = खिर = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gd. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मिर्धगु *tabor*, हिर्धा *heart*, for Skr. मृदङ्ग *a drum*, हृदय *heart* Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) रू has *not* disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the *following*, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and रू has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किर्ये, not खे. There is *one* really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्व (e. g., Pr. एत्य or एत्यु *here* = Skr. अत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्व with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काहे are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहुं) and even dropped it altogether (in को, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. *phonetically*, though not *historically*; only in this sense can one be said to be *derived from* the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हितो and सुतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हितो also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. हो, the latter to E. H., W. H. सो, Mw. सू, G. गू; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अन्ति contracts in Gd. ऐ or ऐ or ई (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होतओ or होतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुतो or हूत¹). These forms

1) हूत् is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होतु or हुतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb भू to be (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. हइते, and N. भंदा, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms हवन्त^o and भवन्त or भन्त (cf. H. C. 4, 60 हवन्ति and H. C. 4, 365 भन्ति = Skr. भवन्ति *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it“; thus Ap. तहाँ होतउ आगदो (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. तहाँ हुंतो आयो, N. तहाँ भंदा आयो, B. ओया हइते आइल् *from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as *loc.*, i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. हितो and सुंतो may be also pres. part. of the Rs. भू *be* and अस् *be* respectively, slightly modified for हंतो (cf. H. C. 4, 406 हन्ति)¹⁾ and संतो (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as हंतो or हुंतो (H. C. 4, 61) have become हितो, so संतो or सुंतो may become सितो; and this form appears to exist in the N. सित्²⁾, and in the S. से³⁾ (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. से, G. जे and M. सी³⁾ or शी³⁾. The S. सौ (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from संतो which is still used by S., in the form संदो, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from संते which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. हितो and सुंतो are used for the

1) Pr. has a tendency to change अ to इ in the suff. अन्ति of the 3. pl. and अन्त^o of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has इते in the pres. part. for E. H. अते (§ 300).

2) With त् for न्त्, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. अत् for Pr. अन्ति, and in the E. H. pres. part. in अत्, B. इत् for Pr. अन्तो (§ 300).

3) The M. सी³⁾ or शी³⁾ cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into स् + ई³⁾, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. हिं; thus M. देवासी³⁾ = देवास् or देवस् + हिं. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like ने³⁾ in त्याच्या ने³⁾ *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But ई³⁾ is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.

instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होतु for the abl. also; similarly श्री and हो are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. ओह से कइल् गइल् *done by him or with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल् *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with“; thus *gone with him* is not ओह से गइल् but ओह के संग् गइल्; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वरु पुनहू से पलकु *return with Punahú a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हितो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होतु (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हितो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. हो is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend सी, सो, से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हुन् or, curtailed, उन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हितो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हुत्) traced to the Ap. होतु (or rather the wk. f. होतु) by the change of न् to न्, as in the S. suff. अनि of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. अति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हुनि or हुनियँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियँ or उनि and in M. M. उन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होऊन *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., ताँहाँ देखि निस्को *he came out from there*, माँकु देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हुन् and the conj. part. होऊन; and, on the whole, the identification of हुन् with हुंतो seems most to commend itself¹). — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँइ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. हो with Pr. हि and of the H. सो or से with Skr. समं (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हितो from हि + तस् I cannot agree.

(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-ह or ठाउँ or ठुँ (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँइ or ठा (ह is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाउँ or ठुँ = Ap. abl. ठाणाहु. Identical with these, only substituting थ् for ह् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. थाजि, P., E. H., W. H. थोँ (Ld. 77), G. थो (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. थाणि; and O. P. थावहु or थोँ or थो, M. P. थोँ = Ap. abl. थाणाहु; in the B. थेके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. थकी the aff. के and की are super-added. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, तेँ, P. उत्तोँ, S. तौँ or तोँ, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. करन् and वरन्, and of the N. ब्राह्म, S. ब्राह्मँ. Others, as M. पासून्, P. पासोँ, and P. परोँ, S. परौँ or परोँ, and S. मौँ or मोँ or मंकौँ and S. मयौँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. एँ (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. एं (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिं (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवेँ *by a god*, Ap. देवेँ, for *देवहिं. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. ईँ, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिं (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवीँ *by gods* = Ap. देवहिं. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. अँ and अउँ or ओँ or ऊँ in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or ओँ in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहं and अहुं (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घरँ *from a house* = Ap. Pr. घरहं, or S. घरउँ or घरोँ or घरँ, P. घरोँ = Ap. घरहुं.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is केरू m., केरि f., and in the strong form, *masc.*, dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरौ (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); *fem.*, dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरी. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केहू, pl. केरौँ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus masc. sg. केरू in सो सुग्रीव केरू लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugrīva's little messenger* (T. Dās, Lankā) or मिटै न जीवन्ह केरू कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dās in Kl. 72); fem. sg. केरि in सीता केरि करहु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sitá* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि बत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dás, Lanka), or केरो in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तू काको मिथ्य भ्रम जग केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabir, Suravalí 12), or केरौ in दौरै गज अंधं चाहुवान केरौ *blindly ran the elephant of the Cháhuván* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे in आखर केरे वषत मेँ बंदे किस का करोगे दीदार *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Rekhtás); masc. pl. dir. केरे in ये किरीट दशकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dás, Lanká), or केरा in जान्हवी केरा तरंग तजो ने तट माँ जाइ कूप खादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kávyad. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरी in सुनि कठोर बाणी कपि केरी *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dás, Lanká), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केर etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., कर m., करी f. Thus masc. dir. sg. कर in कौन रंग है जीव को ता कर करहु विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabir, Ramaini 24), or क्षत्रि जाति कर रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dás, Lanká); or plur. सब कर आजु सुकृत फल बीता *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dás Ayodhyá 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन विन किन्निय । हय किन्निय विन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किन्निय ॥ *lit. the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Somabhadha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करी. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-कर of gods, where कर is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur.; again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे to gods and abl. देव-मानन्-कह from gods, where करे and कह are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कर (cf. O. हाते to or in a hand, हातु from a hand of हात् hand, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कर, करे, कह into र, रे, ह respectively, e. g., जन-र of a man, but जन-मानन्-कर of men; जन-रे to a man, जन-ह from a man. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. र in the gen. (e. g., sg. जने-र of a man, pl. जन-दे-र of men; sg. चेला-र of a disciple, pl. चेला-दे-र of disciples, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., जने-रा men, lit. (multitude) of man; चेला-रा disciples, see § 369); N. the weak f. ह in the nom. pl. (e. g., जनहे-ह or जनह-ह men, चेलाहे-ह or चेलह-ह disciples, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., री f. (e. g., जन-रो घर the house of a man, जन-रै घरै in the house of a man, जन-रा घर-नै to the house of a man, जन-रा घर the houses of a man, जन-री बात or बातों the word or words of a man). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कर is curtailed to र (e. g., मर-र having died = H. H. मर कर, see § 491)¹). On the other hand, र may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान इन-कै दुष मुक्कै his life departs from pain (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनहु विभीषण प्रभु-कै रीती। hear, o Vibhúshan, the lord's custom (T. Dás, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कहब सब कोइ every one will say (it is) the quality of love (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु आयसु सब धर्म-क टीका (to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue (T. Dás, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly और and is shortened in E. H. to अर and curtailed in N. to र; e. g., थिया र and they were.

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उदरै दिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुल बाँधुलि कमल-क संग *the bāndhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr. 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन कै घर *the house of a man*, but जन के घर मे *in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gd.; thus कौ in कंठसोभ बर इंद्र कौ । नाम कह्यौ परवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kanṭasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कथा मंड चहुआन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuaṇ* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर खान के जन्मै धरई । जो गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtās). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कथा जंपि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कथा विस्तार किय । जो राजन दूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किमहु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किमो¹). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1st set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केरु m., केरी f., केरं or केरु n.; st. f. sg. केरओ m., केरिआ f., केरअं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; masc. केरओ in एसो कबु अलंकारओ अज्जआ केरओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. करु, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. करहु or करो.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. आर्यायाः अलङ्कारः); fem. in मम केलिका बडवालिआ my turn of slaughter (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम बडपारी); neut. in कस्स केरकं एदं पवहणं whose is this conveyance (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य प्रवहणम्) or तुम्हहं केरुं धणु your wealth (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. युष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in जसु केरुं हुंकारउं मुहहं पडंति तणाइं on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer) (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण)¹). It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gd. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gd. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dás' जीवन्ह केर कलेसा the pain of the creatures or Chand's भीमह करि सेन the army of Bhima with H. C.'s तुम्हहं केरुं धणु the wealth of you; 2) it is pleonastic, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हहं धणु and तुम्हहं केरुं धणु²) or कस्स पवहणं and कस्स केरकं पवहणं are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gd.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gd., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरतसौ i. e. सम्ब^० परे केर^० भवतः after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and tana are used; and then follows the example जसु केरुं etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरो, etc. are identical with the Gd. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gd. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत done, made, of the R. कृ do. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on intrinsic and phonetic grounds. In the first place, the phrase done by most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „of“; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 130, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1873. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हहं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase जसु केरं हुंकारउरं lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word केर is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. रायकेरं *royal*, पारकेरं *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or अम्हकेरो *ours*, तुम्हकेरो *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. अम्हं केरउ *ours*, तुम्हं केरउ *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. कश्श केलके *whose* (Mrchchh. 96, 22), तविशशपोए केलका *of an ascetic* (Mrchh. 152, 6), etc. Originally केर cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done“, केर would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. रायकेरं = Skr. राजकृतं lit. *done by a king*, Mh. अम्हकेरं or अम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. अस्मत्कृतं *done by us*¹). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and केर looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. इदमर्थस्य केरः i. e., *kera is used as a possessive suff.* (H. C. 2, 147) and परराजभ्यां क्कडिक्को च i. e., *kka, ikka and kera are used as possessive suff. after para and rāja* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. ईय and कीय. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) संबन्धिनः केरतणौ (H. C. 4, 422)²). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. रायकेरं वयनं = Skr. राजकृतं वचनं lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. तुम्हकेरो *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to तुम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form तुम्हं केरउ (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. तुम्हारा is really = *तम्हकरिओ, see § 73. — The curtailment of कर, करो to र, रो in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. कीय itself may well be derived from the past part. कृत.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks *for*, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a *short* अ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्जा, वेल्ली, पेज्जंतो or पेरंतो, सुंदेरो, अच्चेरो, बम्हचेरो are = Skr. शय्या, वल्लीः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्चर्यः, ब्रम्हचर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)¹). On the other hand Skr. °आर्य° becomes in Pr. °अज्ज° or °आरिअ° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्जा or भारिआ = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कज्जं or कारिअं = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done*²). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gd. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in कृ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, सृ, etc., become in Pr. कर, धर, मर, सर, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिओ, धरिओ (H. C. 1, 36), मरिओ, सरिओ (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिअउं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिओ and the

1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. गेज्जं for Skr. ग्राह्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृह्यं and ग्राह्यं; and the Pr. गेज्जं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. गेणहइ (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृह्यं = *ग्रह्यं = Pr. गेज्जं. — The Pr. मेत्त or मत्त for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Md. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °अरिअ° also, but not °एर°; viz. र्यस्य रिअः प्राग्रस्वो वा । र्यस्य रिअः स्यात् । प्राक् इस्वश्च वा स्यात् ॥ भारिआ । भरिआ ॥ कार्ये कच् च दृश्यते । कच्चं । चकारात् कारिअं । करिअं च ॥ i. e., „*ry* becomes *ria* and the preceding vowel may be short or long“. — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार, आजिकार, कलकार do not contain a gen. aff. कार; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, आजिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनका-र, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.

st. f. करिअओ become केरो and केरओ, just as Skr. आश्चर्यम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. अच्चरिअं or अच्चेरं (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्केरो *a heap* and देरं *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the past part. pass. Pr. उक्करिअओ *heaped up* and दरिअं *split*, of the Rs. उत्कृ and दृ resp.¹). The modified part. forms केरो and केरओ are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिअओ and करिअओ serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, 'they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. करा or कर् m., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dás) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form करो m., in Kn., कर्यो m. in Mw. and कर्यो m. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. किअहु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया m., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गिया *gone*, भा or भ for भया *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सब । रोस भरि ग प्रथिराज ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled Prathiráj* (= H. H. भर गया). The E. H. part. कइल्, M. केला, B.

1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and दुरं, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्केरो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्य, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short अ* before र् to produce ए; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कर्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.

करिलि^० presuppose an original form करिद् or करित (§§ 109.307). The st. form कयै^० m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus बिंद ललाट प्रसेद । कयै^० संकर गजराजं ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revatāṭa 3); or तिहि उप्पर चाँमंड । कयै^० हुस्सैन षान सज्जि ॥ *upon this Chāmand made Hussain Khān ready* (Revatāṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइआ) in करिय अरज उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revatāṭa 96), or सब मिलि सु ताहि पुज्जा करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revatāṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे^० n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये^० n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलादो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेच्चयं *ours*, तुम्हेच्चयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हक्केरं and तुम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गया, but B. गिया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेच्चयं is but an other form of अम्हक्केरं, which shows that it is = *अम्हक्कयं = *अम्हक्कइयं = *अम्हक्करिअं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अक्क and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्य (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 3). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form, i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर (unlike त्य) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made or done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. क्वा *what* (i. e., *chhá* = *khá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. किम्मा and W. H. क्या for *किहा (cf. P. obl. किह दा *of whom*); also the G. शो m., शो f., शुँ n. *who* for *क्षो, *क्षो, *क्षु (see § 438, 5)¹. — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkani gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दी f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देरू, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. maso. दिम्मा, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया *given* of the verb दे *to give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „of“; e. g., the P. तंत्र दी वाणी lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are तो m., ती f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ. Other examples of the same change are the P. अत्तिहा or अत्तेहा *of such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. इको *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृशः; the S. उको *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. *एवदृशः; the Ap. Pr. एत्ताहो (Ls. 455, for *एदिम्माहो = *एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृशः; the S. कुत्ताडो *what* (cf. H. कुत्ता *where*) for Skr. *केवदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. डा (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. डिम्नु *to give* (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नो f., नुँ n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or ड् to ण् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तणो, तणी, तणुँ, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowel *a*; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., अह भग्ना अम्हाहं तणा *that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनौ) and Mw. तणो or तणू m., तणी f., तणाँ plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewárá gen. aff. ङो m., ङी f., ङा or ङै obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkání लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ङ, which appears to be a modification of the ३ in the O. P. डा. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. ञा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68. 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदिअ f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिउँ f., obl. संदे^१ or संदनि m., संदिनि or संदिअनि or संदिउनि f.; in Ksh., with a sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संज् f., pl. संदि m., संज् f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंज् f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंज् f. (see Bs. II, 290)¹). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and अस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts स and हं or हिं being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. जनहंदो or Ksh. जनहिंदू *of men* being really जनहं or जनहिं + दो or दू; S. जनसंदो and Ksh. जनसंदू *of a man* being जनस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. जणस्स. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates سنز by संजह, which is hardly correct. The final ɣ is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long a; e. g., نع = न *not*, به = ब *with*, بند = बंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संज sañja or संजा sañjá; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मङ्के or मङ्कि or मङ्कहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gd. sets, one retaining क्, the other changing it to ह् (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माके, S. मंके for Ap. मङ्के; the O. H. मकि or माँक, E. H. माँक् for Ap. मङ्कि, and the O. M. मात्तो (or मात्तोँ) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंकोँ or मंकाँ *from-within* for Ap. मङ्कहुँ or मङ्कहं. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मकि, and the O. H. माँहैँ or माँहीँ or माँही, E. H. and Br. माँहीँ, Mw. माहै or माईँ or मईँ (for *महीँ) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. मेँ contr. from *महीँ, E. H., W. H., G. माँ, N. मा similarly contr. from *महाँ = मकाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कहं; and W. H. मोँ for *महोँ = मकोँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कहुँ. Both, माँ and मोँ, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाईँ = Ap. ठाणहिं, and the N. थाजि = Ap. थाणि, for Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; b) the N. माथि and S. मथे *upon* = Ap. Pr. मत्थि or मत्थे for Skr. मस्ते *on the head or top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मथाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिरु *upon* = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिरसि *on the head of*; c) the B. भितरु or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भीतरु *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gds. परु or परि or पर *upon*, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. पराँ and S. or P. परोँ *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पासु = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासोँ = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पार्श्वे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्, O. P. विचि, W. H. वीच् *within* = Ap. विच्चे or विचि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ये *lit. surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच्च is said to be a substitute for Skr. वर्तमान; g) the M. तं म्, as in घरांतु *in a house*, कवींतु *in a poet*, मधूंतु *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. अंतो or अंते (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. अन्तरु *within*; and related to it, in all Gds., अंतर् = Ap. अंतर्ह (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. अन्तरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gds.,

for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐँ or ऐँ in E. H., ईँ in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ईँ in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहिं; d) loc. sg. in आँ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in आँ in M., for Ap. pl. अहं; e) loc. sg. in ओँ or उ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहुं. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

1. Masculines in अ.

a) Short form: राम् *Rám*.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. राम्	राम्	रामन्लोग् or रामन्लोग्
acc. राम् or र ^० के	राम् or रामन्के	रामन्लोग् or र ^० गन् के or रामन्लोग् or र ^० के
instr. राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
dat. राम् के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के or रामन्लोग् के
abl. राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
gen. राम् कै, र ^० के	रामन् कै, र ^० के	रामन्लोगन् कै, र ^० के or रामन्लोग् कै, र ^० के
loc. राम् मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे or रामन्लोग् मे
voc. हे राम्	हे राम्	हे रामन्लोग् or हे रामन्लोग्

b) Long form: रमन्वा or रमन्वाँ.

nom. रमन्वा	रमन्वा	रमन्वालोग्	or रमन्वन्लोग्
acc. रमन्वा or र ^० के	रमन्वा or रमन्वन्के	रमन्वालोग् or र ^० गन् के	or रमन्वन्लोग् or र ^० के
instr. रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वालोगन् से	or रमन्वन्लोग् से
dat. रमन्वा के	रमन्वन् के	रमन्वालोगन् के	or रमन्वन्लोग् के
abl. रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वालोगन् से	or रमन्वन्लोग् से
gen. रमन्वा कै, र ^० के	रमन्वन् कै, र ^० के	रमन्वालोगन् कै, र ^० के	or रमन्वन्लोग् कै, र ^० के

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
loc.	रमन्वा मे	रमन्वन् मे	रमन्वालोगन् मे or रमन्वन्लोग् मे
voc.	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वालोग् or हे रमन्वन्लोग्

c) Redundant form: रमौवा or रमौआ or रमौवाँ or रमौआँ.

nom.	रमौवा	रमौवा	रमौवालोग्	or रमौवन्लोग्
acc.	रमौवा or र ^० के	रमौवा or ^० वन् के	रमौवालोग् or ^० गन् के	or रमौवन्लोग् or र ^० के
instr.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोगन् से	or रमौवन्लोग् से
dat.	रमौवा के	रमौवन् के	रमौवालोगन् के	or रमौवन्लोग् के
abl.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोगन् से	or रमौवन्लोग् से
gen.	रमौवा कै, ^० के	रमौवन् कै, ^० के	रमौवालोगन् कै, ^० के	or रमौवन्लोग् कै, ^० के
loc.	रमौवा मे	रमौवन् मे	रमौवालोगन् मे	or रमौवन्लोग् मे
voc.	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवालोग्	or हे रमौवन्लोग्

Note: The long and redundant forms in आ may be pronounced with a final *anundāsika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ कै or रमौवाँ कै, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घरन् कै of houses, बाघन् कै of tigers, not घरलोगन् कै, बाघलोगन् कै.

2. Masculines in आ.

a) Short form: बेटा son.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	बेटा	बेटा	बेटालोग् or बेटन्लोग्
gen.	बेटा कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटन् कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटालोगन् कै, ^० के or बेटन्लोग् कै, ^० के, etc.

b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.

nom.	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वालोग्	or बेटन्वन्लोग्
gen.	बेटन्वा कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटन्वन् कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटन्वालोगन् कै, ^० के	or बेटन्वन्लोग् कै, ^० के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बेटौवा or बेटौवाँ, etc.

nom.	बेटौवा	बेटौवा	बेटौवालोग्	or बेटौवन्लोग्
gen.	बेटौवा कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटौवन् कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटौवालोगन् कै, ^० के	or बेटौवन्लोग् कै, ^० के, etc.

3. Masculines in इ.

a) Short form: रिषि rikhi patriarch.

nom.	रिषि	रिषि	रिषिलोग्	or रिषिन्लोग्
gen.	रिषि कै, ^० के, etc.	रिषिन् कै, ^० के, etc.	रिषिलोगन् कै, ^० के, etc.	or रिषिन्लोग् कै, ^० के, etc.

b) Long form: रिषिया or रिषियाँ.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. रिषिया	रिषिया	रिषियालोग् or रिषियन्लोग्
gen. रिषिया कै, °के, etc.	रिषियन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषियालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: रिषियवा or रिषियवाँ.

nom. रिषियवा	रिषियवा	रिषियवालोग् or रिषियवन्लोग्
gen. रिषियवा कै, °के, etc.	रिषियवन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषियवालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form: भाई brother.

nom. भाई	भाई	भाईलोग् or भाइन्लोग्
gen. भाई कै, °के, etc.	भाइन् कै, °के, etc.	भाईलोगन् कै, °के or भाइन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: भइया or भैया or भइयाँ or भैयाँ.

nom. भैया	भैया	भैयालोग् or भैयन्लोग्
gen. भैया कै, °के, etc.	भैयन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयालोगन् कै, °के or भैयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: भैयवा or भैयवाँ.

nom. भैयवा	भैयवा	भैयवालोग् or भैयवन्लोग्
gen. भैयवा कै, °के, etc.	भैयवन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयवालोगन् कै, °के or भैयवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form: तहू tree.

nom. तहू	तहू	deest.
gen. तहू कै, °के, etc.	तहून् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: तहूवा or तहूआ or तहूवाँ or तहूआँ.

nom. तहूआ	तहूआ	deest.
gen. तहूआ कै, °के, etc.	तहूआन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: तहूआवा or तहूआवाँ.

nom. तहूआवा	तहूआवा	deest.
gen. तहूआवा कै, °के, etc.	तहूआवन् कै, °के, etc.	

6. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form: नाउ barber.

nom. नाउ	नाउ	नाउलोग् or नाउन्लोग्
gen. नाउ कै, °के, etc.	नाउन् कै, °के, etc.	नाउलोगन् कै, °के or नाउन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: नउआ or नौआ or नौवा or नउआँ etc.

Sing.

Simple plur.

Comp. plur.

nom. नौवा	नौवा	नौवालोग्	or नौवन्लोग्
gen. नौवा कै, °के, etc.	नौवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौवालोगन् कै, °के	or नौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नउआवा or नौआवा or नौआवाँ, etc.

nom. नौआवा	नौआवा	नौआवालोग्	or नौआवन्लोग्
gen. नौआवा कै, °के, etc.	नौआवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौआवालोगन् कै, °के	or नौआवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

7. Feminines in अ.

a) Short form: बात् *word, thing, event.*

nom. बात्	बात्	deest.
gen. बात् कै, °के, etc.	बातन् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: बतिया or बतियाँ.

nom. बतिया	बतिया	deest.
gen. बतिया कै, °के, etc.	बतियन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: बतियवा or बतियवाँ.

nom. बनियवा	बतियवा	deest.
gen. बतियवा कै, °के, etc.	बतियवन् कै, °के, etc.	

8. Feminines in आ.

a) Short form: दुर्गा *Durgā.*

nom. दुर्गा	दुर्गा	दुर्गालोग्	or दुर्गन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के	or दुर्गन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.

nom. दुर्गिया	दुर्गिया	दुर्गियालोग्	or दुर्गियन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के	or दुर्गियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.

nom. दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवालोग्	or दुर्गियवन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के	or दुर्गियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: आगि *fire.*

nom. आगि	आगि	deest.
gen. आगि कै, °के, etc.	आगिन् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: अगिया or अगियाँ.

Sing.

Simple plur.

Comp. plur.

nom. अगिया

अगिया

deest.

gen. अगिया कै, °के, etc. अगियन् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: अगियवा or अगियवाँ.

nom. अगियवा

अगियवा

deest.

gen. अगियवा कै, °के, etc. अगियवन् कै, °के, etc.

10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी *staff*.

nom. लाठी

लाठी

deest.

gen. लाठी कै, °के, etc. *deest* (§ 362, exc.)

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

nom. लठिया

लठिया

deest.

gen. लठिया कै, °के, etc. लठियन् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

nom. लठियवा

लठियवा

deest.

gen. लठियवा कै, °के, etc. लठियवन् कै, °के, etc.

11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहू *daughter-in-law*.

nom. बहू

बहू

बहूलोग्

or बहुन्लोग्

gen. बहू कै, °के, etc. बहुन् कै, °के, etc. बहूलोगन् कै, °के or बहुन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुआ or बहुआँ, etc.

nom. बहुआ

बहुआ

बहुआलोग्

or बहुआन्लोग्

gen. बहुआ कै, °के, etc. बहुआन् कै, °के, etc. बहुआलोगन् कै, °के or बहुआन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुआवा or बहुआवाँ.

nom. बहुआवा

बहुआवा

बहुआवालोग्

or बहुआवन्लोग्

gen. बहुआवा कै, °के, etc. बहुआवन् कै, °के, etc. बहुआवालोगन् कै, °के or बहुआवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्कावा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बड् *great*, lg. f. बडक्का or बडका, red. f. बडक्कावा or बडकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बड्, lg. f. बडक्की or बडकी, red. f. बडक्किया or बडकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भरिक्का or भरिका, *fem.* भरिक्की or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिक्कावा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिक्किया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गर् *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* गरक्का or गरका, *fem.* गरक्की or गरकी, red. f. *masc.* गरक्कावा or गरकवा, *fem.* गरक्किया or गरकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in अ admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in अ and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., आ m., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, उच् *high*, st. f. *masc.* उचा, *fem.* उची, etc. Adj. in ई and उ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and उ are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*; the wk. f. भारि, हर or हलु occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. इउँ to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भारिउँ *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भरिउँका m., भरिउँकी f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठन्वा (not सेठन्का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. *best*, Skr. श्रेष्ठ); or मिठवा अम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका अम् any sweet mangoe.

2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final अ to ई, and redundant adj. अवा to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मोह् *sweet*, छोह् *small*, etc., and the st. f. भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*, etc. are *gen. com.*; but st. f. *masc.* मोठा, छोटा, *fem.* मोठी, छोटी, etc., and lg. f. *masc.* मिठका or मिठक्का, *fem.* मिठकी or मिठक्की, etc., and red. f. *masc.* मिठकवा, *fem.* मिठकिया, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gds. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in अ (E. and S. Gd. and P.) or ओ or औ (W. and N. Gd.). Thus *masc.* B., O., W. H. काला, E. H. कारा *black*, M., P. काळा, G. काळो, S. कारो; *fem.* B., O., W. H. काली, M., P., G. काळी, E. H., S. कारी, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in अ. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to अ in the other Gds.) have a fem. in इ or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gds. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अधु *half*, *fem.* अध or अधि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc.* or *fem.* आध्. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* कर्ति, of *masc.* कर्त् doing, in the 2. sg. pret. conj. कर्तिस् *if thou didst (fem.)*; or कइलि *fem.*, of कइल्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कइलिस् *thou didst*; कर्बि *fem.*, of कर्ब्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. कर्बिस् *thou wilt do*, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in आ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in आ or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or इ in Gd.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and इया see § 262.

3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or क्का change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form, nom. sg.* ई मीठा आम्र बटै *this is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. form, acc. sg.* उ मीठे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* उ मिठका आम्र बटै *that is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. f., acc. sg.* उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* ओकरू अछा घोरा बटै *his is a good horse*; *obl. f., loc. sg.* उ अछे घोरा पर चढल् बटै *he is mounted on a good horse*. Again, *dir. f., nom. pl.* ई मीठा आम्र बटै *these are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* उ मीठे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* उ मिठका आम्र बटै *those are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* ओकरू अछा घोरा बटै *his are good horses*; *obl. f., loc. pl.* उ अछे घोरे पर चढल् बटै *they are mounted on good horses*.

387. *Affinities.* The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gds. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बडे घोरा कै *of a big horse*, Br. बडे घोडा कौ, M. बडे घोड्या चा; but Mw. बडा घोडा रो, G. बडा घोडा नो, P. बडे घाडे दा, S. बडे घाडे जो, B. बडा घोडा-रू, etc. In all Gds. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बडे घोरन् कै *of big horses*, Br. बडे घोडौ कौ, M. बडे घोड्याँ चा, Mw. बडा घोडाँ रो, G. बडा घोडाव् नो, P. बडे घोडिआँ दा, S. बडे घोडेँ जो

or बड़े छोटे तो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gds.

4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. से), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् all in the abl. case; e. g., ओकरे मोट् बर्दा से मोट् बर्दा अक्का बाटै *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*; ओह् से बडा greater than he; ई सब् से मिठका आम् बाटै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउरू के भात् *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बडका बाटै *which is the elder one*; उ छोटा बाटै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities*. In all Gds. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. ओह् से बडा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हइते बडा, O. ताहा-ह बडा, M. त्याहून् बडा, Br. वा सोँ बडो, Mw. उण् सँ बडो, G. आ यी बडो, P. उह् ते बडा, S. हुन खाँ बडो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बडा *greatest*, B. सकल् हइते ब°, O. सकल-ह ब°, M. सर्वाहून् ब°, Br. सब् सोँ ब°, Mw. सब् सँ ब°, G. सभ यी ब°, P. सब् ते ब°, S. सभ खाँ ब°.

THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

1. एक्	21. ऐकइस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासी
2. दुइ	22. बाइस्	42. बयालिस्	62. बासठि	82. ब्यासी
3. तीनि	23. तेइस्	43. तै ^३ तालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासी
4. चारि	24. चौबिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौ ^३ सठि	84. चौरासी
5. पाँच्	25. पचीस्	45. पै ^३ तालिस्	65. पै ^३ सठि	85. पचासी
6. छ	26. छब्बिस्	46. छियालिस्	66. छाछठि	86. छियासी
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सै ^३ तालिस्	67. सरसठि	87. सत्तासी
8. अठ्	28. अठाइस्	48. अउतालिस्	68. अउसठि	88. अट्टासी
9. नौ	29. ओनतिस्	49. ओनचास्	69. ओनहत्तर	89. नवासी
10. दस्	30. तीस्	50. पचास्	70. सत्तर	90. नब्बे
11. ऐग्यारह्	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐखत्तर	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. बारह्	32. बतिस्	52. बावन्	72. बहत्तर	92. बानबे
13. तेरह्	33. तै ^३ तिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्तर	93. तिरानबे
14. चौदह्	34. चौ ^३ तिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्तर	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्तरह्	35. पै ^३ तिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पछत्तर	95. पंचानबे
16. सोरह्	36. छत्तिस्	56. छप्पन्	76. छिहत्तर	96. छानबे
17. सतरह्	37. सै ^३ तिस्	57. सत्तावन्	77. सथत्तर	97. सत्तानबे
18. अठारह्	38. अउतिस्	58. अट्टावन्	78. अठत्तर	98. अट्टानबे
19. ओनइस्	39. ओनतालिस्	59. ओनसठि	79. ओनसी	99. निनानबे
20. बीस्	40. चालिस्	60. साठि	80. अस्सी	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above *a hundred*; thus:

1. यक्	5. पच्* or	11. इग्यारह् or	38. अरतिस् or	54. चौघन् or
2. दो*	पाच्	ग्यारह्	अउतिस्	चउअन्
3. तिन्* or	6. छह्* or	15. पनरह्	44. चवालिस् or	55. पचपन्
तीन्	छ्व्	24. चवबिस् or	चउआलिस्	67. सउसठि or
4. चर्* or	7. सत्*	चउबिस्	48. अरतालिस् or	सतसठि
चार्	8. अठ्	30. तिस्*	अउतालिस्	68. अरसठि

71. ऐकहत्तर	78. अठहत्तर or	95. पनचानबे	100. सै** or
75. पचहत्तर	अठन्नत्तर*	99. निन्नानबे or	सो** or
77. सतहत्तर	84. चवरासी	निन्यानबे	सल्

The final syllables °बिस्, °तिस्, °लिस् may, optionally, be spelled °बीस्, °तीस्, °लीस्; thus 24 चौबिस् or चौबीस्, 33 तैतिस् or तैतीस्, 40 चालिस् or चालीस्; but 21 ऐकइस्, not ऐकईस्; 23 only तेइस्, not तेईस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साह्, 66 ढाइठि or ढाइह्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्° may also be spelled वन्°; thus 19 ओनइस् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासी or वनासी.

393. All cardinals above a hundred are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

101. एक सै एक	103. एक सै तीन	105. एक सै पाँच्	210. दुइ सै दस्
102. एक सै दुइ	104. एक सै चारू	200. दुइ सै	220. दुइ सै बीस्
	300. तीन सै	1000. सहस्र	
	400. चारू सै	100,000. लाख	
		10,000,000. कोरा	

1874. एक सहस्र आह् सै चौहत्तर
2,154,210. ऐकइस् लाख चौवन सहस्र दुइ सै दस्, etc.

394. The cardinals between one hundred and two hundred are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाडा). Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उत्तर above, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओत्तर); thus 108 is अठोत्तरसो, i. e., अठ + उत्तर + सो eight-above-hundred. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel आ is interposed, instead of उत्तर, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् forty is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;

e. g., 161 *eksātthāso*, 152 *bavānnāso*, 112 *barāhāso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following :

101. ऐकोतरूसो	117. सतराहासो	140. चालसो	170. सत्ररूसो
102. दिलोतरूसो	118. अठराहासो	141. ऐकतालसो, etc.	171. एखत्ररूसो
103. तिलोतरूसो	119. ओनैसासो	149. ओनचासासो	179. ओनूसासीसो
104. चलोतरूसो	120. बीसासो	150. डेठसौ	180. अस्सीसो
105. पिचोतरूसो	121. ऐकैसासो	151. ऐक्यवन्नासो	181. ऐक्यासीसो
106. किलोतरूसो	122. बइसासो	152. बवन्नासो	189. नवासीसो
107. सतलोतरूसो	123. तेइसासो	153. तिरपन्नासो	190. नब्बेसो
108. अठोतरूसो	124. चौबीसासो	154. चौवन्नासो	191. ऐक्यानबेसो
109. निगरोतरूसो	125. पचोसासो	155. पनचौनासो	192. बानबेसो
110. दहोतरूसो	126. छब्बीसासो	156. छपन्नासो	193. तिरानबेसो
111. ऐगरोतरूसो	127. सतैसासो	157. सतवन्नासो	194. चोरानबेसो
112. बरहोतरूसो	128. अठैसासो	158. अठवन्नासो	195. पनचानबेसो
113. तेरहोतरूसो	129. ओनतीसासो	159. ओनसट्टासो	196. छानबेसो, etc.
114. चौदहोतरूसो	130. तीसासो	160. साठसो	199. निनानबेसो
115. पनराहासो	131. ऐकतीसासो, etc.	161. ऐकसट्टासो, etc.	200. दुइ सौ
116. सोराहासो	139. ओनतालसो	169. ओनहत्तरूसो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals :

101. इकोतरूसो	113. तेराहासो	119. ओनइसासो	163. तिरसठसो
102. दियोतरूसो	114. चौदाहासो	121. ऐकइसासो	164. चौसठसो
106. द्वियोतरूसो	115. पन्दरहोतरूसो	155. पचपन्नासो	165. पैँसठसो
108. अठोतरूसो	116. सोरहोतरूसो	159. ओनसाठसो	166. छाछठसो
111. इगरोतरूसो	117. सतरहोतरूसो	161. ऐकसठसो	170. सत्ररिसो
112. बराहासो	118. अठरहोतरूसो	162. बासठसो	

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gds. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gd. differs from the W. and S. Gd., in the third the W. Gd. from the E. and S. Gd. — Firstly; in E. Gd. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अह्, इस् or बिस्, तिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gd. it is long (viz. अँ or अहँ, ईस् or बीस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर	तेर	तेरह्	तेरा	तेराँ
14.	चौद	चौदृ	चौदह्	चौदा	चौदाँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेइस्	तेई
24.	चव्विश्	चव्विश्	चौबिस्	चौबीस्	चौबी
32.	बत्रिश्	बत्रिश्	बतिस्	बतीस्	बती
46.	पइँचालिश्	पयँताल्लिश्	पैँताल्लिस्	पैँतालीस्	पैँताली
	S.	M.	G.	H. H.	
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह्	
14.	चोउहँ	चौदा	चउद	चोदह्	
23.	देवीह	तेवीस	त्रेवीश्	तेइस्	
24.	चोवीह	चौवीस्	चोवीश्	चौबीस्	
32.	बट्टीह	बत्तीस्	बत्रिश्	बतीस्	
46.	पंजेतालीह	पंचेचालीस्	पञ्चतालीश्	पैँतालीस्	

Secondly; in E. Gd. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gd. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	बे	ब	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिंन	तीन्	त्रण्	ट्रे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चारू	चारू	चारू	चारू	चारि	चारू
60.	षाठिए	षाठि	साठि	साठ्	संठ	साठ्	सठि	साठ्	साठ्

With regard to सत्तर *seventy* alone, all Gd. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तेरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि सै *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gd. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gd. either the conjunct त्र or the whole increment चत् of the Pr. चत्तालीसा *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकेचालीस्	एकचालिश्	एकचल्लिश्	एकताल्लिस्	एकताली	एकेतालीह	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	बयालिश्	बेयाल्लिश्	बयालिस्	बैताली	ब्राएतालीह	बेतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयालिश्	तेताल्लिश्	तेँताल्लिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह	तेँतालीश्
44.	चव्वेचालीस्	चौचालिश्	चोयाल्लिश्	चौवाल्लिस्	चौतालो	चोएतालीह	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पङ्चचालिश्	पयंतालिश्	पैतलिस्	पैताली	पंजतालीह	पञ्चतालीश्
46.	शेचालीस्	क्ष्यालिश्	क्षचलिश्	क्षियालिस्	क्षिताली	क्षाएतालीह	क्षतालीश्
47.	सत्तेचालीस्	सतचालिश्	सतचलिश्	सैतलिस्	सैताली	सतेतालीह	शुउतालीश्
48.	अट्टेचालीस्	अठचालिश्	अठचलिश्	अठ्ठतालिस्	अठताली	अठेतालीस	अउतालीश्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of ओस्, तीस्, लीस्, ज्ञास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. ओह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. ट्रीह् 30, S. ट्रेवीह् 23, वट्रीह् 32, P. तेई or त्रेई, बती or बत्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंजाह् 50, S. वावंजाह्, P. ववंजा 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of साह् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाह्, S. एकहठि, while P. also changes ह् to ट् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्र 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to ह्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्र (= *एकसत्र = एकहत्र), E. H. एवत्र or एकहत्र, W. H. एकहत्र, P. इकहत्र, S. एकहतरि, M. एकाहत्र, but O. एकस्तुरि (= *एकसतुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वीह् 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिश् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिश्, P. इकत्री or इकत्री, S. एकट्रीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिश्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. ट्रीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चलिश् 40 and its compounds, as एकचलिश् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सष्ट 60 in compounds, as एकसष्ट 61, बासष्ट 62, etc.; but साह् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नभे for नवे 90 in compounds, as इकानवे or इकानभे 91, etc.; but नव्वे or नब्बे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अह्, while the others contract it to अँ or अ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. बारह्, but P. बारँ (= *बारँ = *बारह्), M. बारा, W. H. बारा, or E. H. बारह्, B., O., G. बार.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms यक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. Pr. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एओ (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., ऐगरोतरसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगरोतरसो 111. —

2. दुइ regularly for Pr. दुए (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोन्नि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. दुँ (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form बे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. बे and S. ब; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीनि regularly for Pr. तिणि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोणि, तिणि, चत्तारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or *द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gd. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तन्नो (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gd. Pr. has also the masc. चत्तारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुरः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gd.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आठ् regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, अट् = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, अष्ट (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंज, P. सत्त, अट्, S. सत्त, अठ, B. आठ. — 6. छ, also Pr. छ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to छ (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. छ; E. H. has a form छह which occurs also in S. छह, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षष्, Pr. *छस or *छह with final श्र (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form छव् corresponding to B. छय्, O. छअ, W. H. and P. छे, with euphonic व् or य् for elided ह्; Pr. has also छअ see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नअ (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नअ and B. नय; P. नोँ and S. नँव add an *anunásika*. — 10. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gd. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. *एगारह,

E. H. ऐग्यारह or इग्यारह or ग्यारह. As to its euphonic य्, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gd.; for B. एगार, O. एगार, M. अकरा have it not; while W. H. ग्यारह, P. गिआरौ, G. अगिआर have it. The other P. form एआरह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. गारहँ. The Pr. has also दस, रस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gd. — 12. Skr. द्वादश, Pr. बारह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. बारह, B., O., G. बार, M., W. H. बारा, P. बारौ, S. बारहँ. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेरह (i. e. त्रयदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)¹), E. H. तेरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउदह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौदह; other Gds. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पसरह (H. C. 2, 43, but पसरहो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पनरह (§ 392 and in पनराहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पसारह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gd. form, however, inserts an euphonic द् (§ 135), as E. H. पंदरह, O. पंदर, W. H. पंदरा, P. पंदरौ, S. पंदरहँ or पंध्र, M. पंधरा, G. पंदर. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोरह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोळा, P. सोलौ, S. सोरहँ, G. सोळ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदश, Pr. सत्तरह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सतरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अट्टारह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठारह, G. अठार, S. अउहँ (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gds., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. उनविंशतिः, Mg. उनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. ओनइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. उनिष्, O. उणाइष्; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. ओगणीस्; the P. has उनीह and S. उणीह or उपावीह with ह् for स् (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) अ in सत्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptá*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेरह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. य् + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेरह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

labic numerals only *saptā* and *ashtā* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *ēka*, *pāñcha*, *nāva*, *dāśa*, etc.; now Gd. has अ in सप्ताइस्, अष्टाइस्, but अ or ई (for अइ) in एकइस् (W. H. एकीस्) and पचीस् (for पचइस्, M. पंचवीस्). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत्, etc.; but not in सप्तदश, सप्तविं, सप्तत्रिंशत्; in Pr. and Gd. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 सैतिस्, 38 अउतिस्, 47 सैतालिस्, 48 अउतालिस्, and in Skr., too, the accent of अष्ट only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्, etc. — 20 बीस् regularly for Pr. बीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बीसई (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. विंशतिः. — 30 तीस् regularly for Pr. तीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or तीसआ (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. त्रिंशत्. — 32 बतिस् regularly for Pr. वन्तीसा (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with अ on account of the following double त्, Skr. द्वात्रिंशत्. — 33 तैतिस् regularly for Pr. तेन्तीसा (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. has तेहतीस् (Man. 43) beside the regular तेतीस्. — 35 पैतिस् see § 156, W. H. पैतीस्, P. पैती, G. पैत्रिश्; but M. पस्तीस् (Man. 43, for पसतीस् with स् for च्, cf. § 11) and S. पंजद्रीह. — 37 सैतिस् see § 153, also W. H. सैतीस्, P. सैती, B. साँइत्रिश्; but M. सदतीस् or सततीस्, G. साउत्रिश्, S. सतद्रीह. — 38. Skr. अष्टात्रिंशत्, Pr. अट्टतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), O. अठतिश्, B. आठत्रिश्, S. अठद्रीह, P. अठती, M. अठतीस् or अउतीस्, E. H. अठतिस् (§ 113) or अउतिस् or अरुतिस् (§ 145, exc. 2), G. आउत्रिश्. — 40. E. H. चालिस् see § 153. — 41. Skr. एकचत्वारिंशत्, Pr. एक्कचत्तलीसा or (eliding च) *एकअत्तलीसा and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. एकतालिस्; this derivation is proved by the S. एकेतालीह, which is contracted from एकयतालीह with euph. य्. The usual explanation, identifying तालिस् with तालिस्, assumes a change of च् to त्; thus Pr. एकचत्तलीसा = एकचअत्तलीसा = एकचालीस् = एकतालिस्; but such a change of च् to त् is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 तेतालिस् (see § 152), 49 ओनतालिस्, 45 पैतालिस् (see § 156), 47 सैतालिस्, 48 अउतालिस् (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also अउयाले (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable च *cha* and the conjunct त् *tt* are elided; so also in

the Gd. forms: 42 ब्यालिस्, 44 चौवालिस्, 46 द्वियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gds. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाशत्, Pr. *पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाश्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंजाह् and S. पंजाह्. The common Pr. form is पञ्चासा (Vr. 3, 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6th decade of all Gds., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. बावन्, W. H., G. dto., O. बाअन्, B. बाउन्, M. बावन्, Pr. बावणं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्तावन्, Pr. *सत्तावसा or °सं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अट्टावन्, Pr. *अट्टवणं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्, Pr. पंचावसा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; B. contracts सातान् 57, आठान् 58, पंचान् 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form *पंचप्पसा. There is another Pr. form पपावसा (H. C. 2, 174) or पपावन् (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gd. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. छप्पन्, O., G. छपन्, B. छापान्, M. छपन्, Pr. *छप्पसा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाशत्; 53. E. H. तिरपन्, W. H. तिरपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्, O. तेपन्, B. तिप्पान् presuppose a Ap. Pr. form *त्रिप्पसा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवसा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gd.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्, regularly for Pr. *चउप्पसा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्; but in E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोयान् the conjunct प् has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 ओनचास्, with the syllable प pa elided, precisely as च cha in ओनताल्लिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. उनपञ्चाशत्, Pr. उपावंचासा or उपापंचासा, whence B. उनपंचास्, G. ओगपापचाश्, S. उपावंचाह, P. उपावंचा or उपांजा, O. उनंचाश्, E. H. ओनचास्; but M. regularly एकुपापन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. देवंचाह, P. तिवंचा or तिरवंचा 53; S. चोवंचाह, P. चोवंचा or चुवंचा 54; S. पंजवंचाह, P. पंचवंचा 55; S. छवंचाह, P. छिपंचा or छिवंचा 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षष्टिः, Pr. सट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साह्, P. सट्, S. सठि; the O. साठिह् adds a pleonastic ह्.

In the compounds, M. has सष्ट, S. हठि and P. हट, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट, 62 in O. बाग्रासठि with आ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठ, W. H. त्रेसठ् or तिरसठ्, M. त्रेसष्ट, P. तेहट् or त्रेहट्, S. ट्रेहठि; 65. B. पयँसठि, M. पाँसष्ट, W. H. पैँसठ्, P. पैँहट्, but O. पंचसठि, G. पंचसाठ्, S. पंजहठि; 66. O. इअसठि, M. सासष्ट, S. काहठि, W. H. क्रियासठ्, P. क्रियाहट्, B. इसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सडसठि or सरसठि, M. सतसष्ट or सदसष्ट, W. H. सरसठ्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सवाहट्; 68. E. H. अडसठि or अरसठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अडसष्ट or अडुसष्ट, W. H. अडसठ् or अरसठ्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहट्, B. आठसठि; 69. B. उनसत्तर, all others regularly °हत्तर, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वावट्ठि, 64 चोयट्ठी (but also चउसट्ठी), 66 झावट्ठि, and even 61 एगट्ठि, 67 सत्तट्ठि (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सत्तर see § 108; so also in the other Gds. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. बाग्रास्तुरि, B. बाहात्तर, S. बाहत्तरि, M. बाहत्तर; 73. M. त्रेहत्तर or त्राहत्तर, B. तेहात्तर, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चौर्याहत्तर; 75. M. पंचेहत्तर; 76. O. इअस्तुरि, B. इयात्तर, S. काहत्तरि, M. शाहत्तर or शेहत्तर (see § 55); 77. B. सातात्तर, M. सत्याहत्तर or सत्तेहत्तर, P. सतत्तर; 78. B. आठात्तर, P. अठत्तर, M. अठ्याहत्तर or अठेहत्तर. — 80. Skr. अशीतिः, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्सी with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असी and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐँशी and G. ऐँसी, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gds. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एक्यासी, M. एक्यायँशी; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. बियाशी, M. ब्यायँशी, P., S. बिआसी, O. बयाशी, B., E. H., W. H. बयासी. — 86. O. इयाशी, M. शायँशी, S. इहासी; 83. M. आयँशी, G. तेआसी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौर्याँशी; 87. M. सत्यायँशी; 88. M. अठ्यायँशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीतिः; but M. has also एकुणानव्वद्, B. उननव्वद्, O. उणानउ, P. उणानवे, S. उणानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउए (Wb. Bh.

426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नबे, B. नब्बइ, M. नब्बद्, W. H. नब्बे, S. नवे, P. नब्बे or नब्बे; these Gd. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form *नब्बए; the origin of the final ए is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नबे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. विमानवे, M. व्याषव; 93. S. द्विमानवे, M. व्याषव; 94. E. H. चौरानवे, S. चौरानवे, M. चौर्याषव, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्तानउए 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानवे, S. सतानवे, M. सत्याषव. — 99 is in S. नवानवे, B. निवानवइ, M. नव्याषव (with euph. वृ see § 135) for Skr. नवनवतिः; the E. H. and W. H. निनानवे or नियानवे apparently exchange नृ for वृ, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नडिनुवे^० or नडिनुमे^० (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नधानवे or वधानवे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has अनेशत्, perhaps for Skr. ऊनशतम्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. शतम्, and E. H., P. सै, B. श, O. शये, M. शे^० is the Mg. Pr. सअं or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उत्तर, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gd. preserves it; e. g., 107 सनुत्तरं सयं (Bh. 15^a), S. सतोत्तरसौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तरसउ, S. पंतोत्तरसौ, E. H. पिचोत्तरसो (§ 55); 106. S. इहोत्तरसौ, E. H. द्वियोत्तरसो or द्विलोत्तरसौ (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोत्तरसौ (for चुलो^०, cf. Pr. चुलसीत 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तरसौ, 103 E. H. तिलोत्तरसो or तियो^०, S. द्विरोत्तरसौ, 102 E. H. दिलोत्तरसौ or दियो^० (see § 69), S. बिरोत्तरसौ, M. दुवोत्तरशे^० are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षडुत्तरशतं, चतुरुत्तर^०, त्र्युत्तर^०, द्व्युत्तर^०. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्तरसो 107 (for *सतोत्तरसो) and निगरोत्तरसो 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बराहासो, S. बारहो सौ; 115. E. H. पन्नाहासो, S. पन्दराहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens

the second अ, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. तीहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सो, S. तीहो सौ 130, i. e., 100 plus the sum of 30, or E. H. तेरहॉ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै *of five*, etc. But दुइ *two* and तीनि *three* have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्दुन् or दुनुहुन् *two* and तीनो *three*; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्दुन् कै or दुनुहुन् कै *of two*, तीनो कै *of three*. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच जनन् कै *of five men*, दुइ जनन् कै *of two men*, तीनि जनन् कै *of three men*.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोहो, तिहो, चोहो for दोन् *two*, तीन् *three* and चारू *four* (Man. 46). When used adjectively with persons, they are changed to दोधे m., दोधी f., दोधे n. *two*; similarly तिधे, तिधी, तिधे *three*, चौधे, चौधी, चौधे *four* (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा *of one*, दोहो चा or दोधॉ चा *of two*. — S. has the obl. forms बिनि or बी, द्विनि or द्वी, चरनि or चरई for ब *two*, द्वे *three*, चारि *four*; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बिनि जो *of two*, पंजनि जो *of five*, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे or दहे बैरिँ खे *to ten enemies*; बिनि or बी बैरिनि खे बी बैरिँ खे *to two enemies*. — In the E. H. form दुनुहुन् the conjunct न्ह has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्दुन् is probably euphonic, for *दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोपहं or बेपहं *of two* (H. C. 3, 119), तिपहं *of three* (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी, द्वी or slightly modified बिनि, द्विनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्दुन्, M. दोहो would presuppose the Pr. form *दोपहहुं or *दोपहपह, etc.

2. ORDINALS.

400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईँ (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or ऐ (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or °लका m., °ली or °लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसरब् c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसरवाँ or दुसरका m., °री or °रईँ or °रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसरब् c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसरवाँ or तिसरका m., °री or °रईँ or °रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चउथ् or चौथब् c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथवाँ or चौथरका m., °थी or °थईँ or °थकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. छट्ठ् c. g., or st. f. छटा or छट्ठवाँ m., छट्ठी or छट्ठीईँ f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचईँ f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तईँ f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै of the first, दसवेँ कै of the tenth; fem. पहिली कै, दसईँ कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिला कै of the first one, pl. पहिलन् कै of the first ones; but पहिले जन् कै of the first man, पहिले जन्न् कै of the first men, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेला or पहिला (§. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पहलौ or पहिलौ or °लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरोँ or पेहेर्योँ or पहर्योँ. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (chauthō) or चौथा (§. Ch. 105), M. चवथा, W. H. चौथौ (Br.) or चौथो (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चौथो, S. चौथोँ. — The E. H. छटा, B. and O. deest, W. H. छट्ठी or छट्टो, G. छटो are derived from Pr. छट्ठो, st. f. of Pr. छट्टो (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षष्ठः, the M. सहावा, P. छेवाँ, S. छहोँ are formed anomalously (as if Skr. *षष्ठमः) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. छे, S. छह. The E. H.

forms इठवाँ, दुसरब् or दुसरवाँ anomalously contain the suff. अब् or अवॉ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. सका (see § 198). The form चौथरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. आ or आँ or आँई, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. ऐकं or ऐकै or के or कं | 6. इक् or इक्का or इक्के or इक्क |
| 2. दूनी | 7. सते |
| 3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका
or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति | 8. अठे or आठ |
| 4. चौक् or चौका | 9. नवाँ or नवाँई |
| 5. पचां or पचे or पुरे | 10. दहाँ or दहाँई, etc. |

403. The forms ऐकं and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकं एक् or ऐकै एक् *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचीस् *five times five are twenty five*. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पै *five*, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five*, पंदरह् *fifteen* and पचीस् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठ, इक् or इक्क, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

3 × 1 is 3, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् इके साठि	तीन् के तीन्	तीन् इक्क अठारह्
दस् दूनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्रह्	तीन् दूती इ	तीन् सते एकइस्
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् अठे अस्सी	तीन् त्रिका नौ	तीन् अठे चौबिस्
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नवाँ नब्बे	तीन् चौक् बारह्	तीन् नवाँ सताइस्
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ	तीन् पचे पंदरह्	तीन् दहाँई तीस्

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

तेरह के तेरह	तेरह षाक् अठनुत्र
तेरह दूनी छबिस्	तेरह सते ऐकानब्बे
तेरह ति वनतालिस्	तेरह आह चलोतरसो
तेरह चौका बावन्	तेरह नवाँ सतराहसो
तेरह पुरे पैसठि	तेरह दहाई तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक	चर के चार	सत् के सात्	दहाई दस्
दु के दुइ	पच् के पाँच्	अह के आह	
तिन् के तीन्	छ के छह	नवाँ नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पच् के पाँच्	चार पचे बीस्	सात् पुरे पैतिस	दस् पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दस्	पचा पचीस्	आह पचे चालिस्	इग्यारह पुरे पंचावन्
तीन् पचे पंदरह	छ पचे तीस्	नौ पुरे पैतालिस्	बारह पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in अ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four*.

4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी a pair, चौकरा or ०री or गंडा a four, गाही a five, कोड़ी a score, सैकरा a hundred, सहस्र a thousand, लाख a hundred thousand, कोरा or करो ten millions. Collectives may also be formed by adding आ or आँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा a score, तीसा a thirty, चलीसा a forty, also एका a one, पंचा a five, सता a seven, अठा a eight, नवाँ a nine, दहाँ a ten, etc. The multiplicatives दूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, षाक् or षक्का may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (quiescent) or आ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gds., though they are not noticed by all Gd. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, बिको 2, ट्रिको 3, चउको or चउकु or चउकङ्गे 4, पंजो 5, षको 6, सतो 7, अठो 8, नाँम्रो 9, उहो or उहाको 10, वीहो or वीहारो or विहारो or कोङ्गे 20, द्वाहो or द्वाहारो or द्विहारो 30, चालीहो or चाल्हारो (for *चालीहारो) 40, पंजाहो or पजाही 50, साठीको 60, सवियो or सौकिङ्गे 100, सहासु or हजार 1000 (Tr. 168), लाख 100000, कोरु or किरोटि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काउँ 1, दूणी 2, तिम्राउँ or तिम्राउँ 3, चौका 4, पाँजा 5, षका 6, साता 7, अठा 8, नाइम्राँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोङ्गे or बीहङ्गे or बीहा 20, पंजाहा 50, सैकङ्गा 100, सहस्र or हजार 1000, लकख 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, दूना or दूनी or जोगा or जोगी 2, ती or तीन् 3, पंजा 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोङ्गे or बीसा 20, सैकङ्गा 100, सहस्र or हजार 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. आ), as बतीसी *a thirty two*, पचीसी *a fifty*, etc. In M. सहस्र or हजार 1000, लाख 10000, कोट or कोट् 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gd. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एक्कम्, E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. तिम्रं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. बीसम्, E. H. बीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. षक्कं, E. H. षाक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचम्, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. तिम्रं, Ap. Pr. त्रिक्कम्, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चउक्कम्, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad*, E. H. षका, Pr. षक्कम्, Skr. षट्कम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोरा or कोङ्गा, Pr. कोडिम्, Skr. कोटिकम् (or *कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or ग, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकङ्गे, Ap. Pr. चउक्कुडउ, Skr. चतुष्क°; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकङ्गे, Ap. Pr. सयक्कुडउ, Skr. शतक°, etc.; perhaps also E. H. जोगा, W. H. जोगे, Ap. Pr. *जुअडउ (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विज्ञं = Skr. विद्वान्),

Skr. द्विक°, though this might be a noun derived from the R. जुट् or जुड् *join*. Sometimes the „collective“ sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. ञ् (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाई *unit*, E. H. नवाई *nine*, दहाई *decade*, etc. — Differently derived is दूना m. and दूनी f. *duad*, viz. from Pr. दुत्पात्रं (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोर see §§ 138. 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गण्डकः, lit. *aggregate of four sides* (?); so is also the E. H. गण्डी, lit. *the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets* (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोरी or कोडी *score* I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौडी, (Skr. कपर्दक) *aggregate of twenty shells* (?).

5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; अकेहरा *onefold, single*, दुहरा or दोहरा *twofold, double*, तेहरा *threefold, triple*, चौहरा *fourfold, quadruple*. The rest are made by adding the word बार or बेर *time* to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार or पाँच बेर *five times, quintuple*, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. *Affinities*. The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहिरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंतौहरा or पंतउहरा, 6 छेयौहरा, 7 सतौहरा; and even the „ordinal“ suff. भ may be added pleonastically; thus पंतौहरभ *quintuple*, just as पंतभाँ or पंतवाँ *fifth* (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 हेकर or हेकार, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 टिहर or टिहार, 4 चोहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट *strip* instead of हरा; thus 1 एकपट, 2 दुपट, 3 तिपट, 4 चौपट, 10 दसपट, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लडा *string*, e. g., 3 तिलडा, 4 चौलडा (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, दिधा, etc. (see §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi-suff.* विध (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह, whence, probably by the addition of the *pleon. suff.* रा (see § 209, or in S. आर), arises the E. H. हरा. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउविह, 5 पंचविह, 6 ष्वविह, or contracted 1 एगाहिय, 2 वेहिय, 3 तेहिय (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध° *twofold*, Pr. दुविह° (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह°, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउउ or वेहउउ, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. बिहर. The S. form बिहार presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहउउ, containing the *pleon. suff.* क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gd. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi-suff.* ध or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *आध् or *आधा	$\frac{1}{16}$ सोरही or सोरहिया
$\frac{1}{3}$ तिहाई or तिहइया or तिहैया	$1\frac{1}{4}$ *सवा or सवाई or सवइया or सवैया
$\frac{1}{4}$ *पाउ or *पाव or चौथाई or चौथइया or चौथैया	$1\frac{1}{2}$ *डेह् or डेहा or डेहे or देह् or देहा or देहे
$\frac{1}{10}$ दहाई or दहइया or दहैया	$2\frac{1}{2}$ *आठा or आठाई or आठइया or आठैया
	$\frac{3}{4}$ पाउन् or पौना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक् पाउ सेर *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर or आधा सेर *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर *one ser and a quarter*; डेह् सेर *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर *one ser and three quarters* (lit., *one quarter less than two sers*); सवा दुइ सेर *two sers and one quarter*; आठा सेर or आठाई सेर *two sers and one half*; साढे तीनि सेर *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-

gularly fem. आधी (§ 384), and obl. form आधे (§ 386). Thus आधी राति *midnight*, आधे माग्न मे *at half-way*.

415. *Affinities*. These fractionals occur in all Gds., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H. पाओ or चौथाई, P. पाउ or चुथाई, S. पाउ or चोथे or चोथाई or चोथा, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौटि or सिक्कि, O. पा or पाए; $\frac{1}{3}$, W. H., P. तिहाई, S. टिहाई, B. तिहाइ; $\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. आध् or आधौ, P. अठ or अठा, S. अधु or आधो, G. अर्धो, M. अर्धा, B. आध् or अर्ध or अर्धक्, O. अथ or अर्ध or अर्धक्; $\frac{3}{4}$, W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पाउणा; $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H. सवा or समा or सम, P. सवा or सवाई or सवाइआ, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया; $1\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. डेह् or डौठा or डेओठा, P. डेह् or डूह् or डूठा or डेउठा, S. डेह् or डेहे, G. डोढ, M. दीड्, B. देह्, O. देह्; $2\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. अठ्ठाई or ठामा or ठाम्, P. ठाई or ठाइआ or ठाया, S. अठ्ठाई, G. अठी or हडी, B. अठ्ठाई, O. अठ्ठाइ; $3\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. हूँटा or होटा, P. उठा or ऊँटा or उटा; $4\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. ढौँचा, P. ढौँचा (or पौचा?); $5\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. पोँचा, (P. पौँचा?); $6\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. खौँचा; $7\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. सतौँचा. Again *minus* $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पौणो or मुनो, G. पोणा, M. पाउणो or पावणो; *plus* $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया, O. सउआइ; *plus* $\frac{1}{2}$, W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साढु), G. साटा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation*. आध् or आधा regularly for Pr. अढो or अढओ, Skr. अर्धः or अर्धकः. — तिहाई, चौथाई, दहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह् in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तइअ° (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पाओ) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पाओ, Skr. पादः; O. पा or पाय् or पाए = Mg. पाए or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाओ, Skr. सपादः; O. सवाइ, Mg. सवाए or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सडुओ, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्ध (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाओणो, Skr. पादोनः, from पाद + ऊन, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देह् or डेह्, आठ्ठा, अठ्ठा,

उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus $3\frac{1}{2}$ is in Mg. Pr. अटुटु° (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अटोटु° = अट + अटुटु° = अट + चटुटु° (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थ° lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सनुतरं for सनोतरं = Skr. सप्तोत्तरम् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अटोटु° is changed to अहोटु° (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W.H. होटा or हूँटा or (dropping ह्) the P. उठा or उँटा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again $2\frac{1}{2}$ is in Mg. Pr. अट्टाड्डा (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अट्टअड्डा or अट्ट + अड्डा = अट्ट + तड्डा (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तड्डा) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तड्डा is तड्डा (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अट्टअड्डा or contracted अट्टाड्डा or E.H. अट्टाड्ड or अट्टाड्डा or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढाड्डा or ढाड्ड. Similarly $4\frac{1}{2}$ must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अट्टवंचउ or contracted अट्टौंचउ, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढौँचा, W.H. ढौँचा. Similarly $1\frac{1}{2}$ would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अट्टदुइए (or *अट्टदिवइए), and transposing अट्ट° and °दुइ° (or *दिव), दिवइए, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190. 411) and whence is contracted E.H. देइ or डेइ, M. दीइ or G. डेइ or P. डेउठा and डूठा or W.H. डौठा. — The forms पौँचा, खौँचा, सतौँचा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ढौँचा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with उँचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ख् of खौँचा is merely the modern pronunciation of ख् in the Skr. खप्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the ख् of सवा has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नवा. In the W. H. ढामा or ढाम corresponding to P. ढाया or ढाई the म् appears to be merely euphonic.

7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइ गुना *two times*, तीनि गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच् गुना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुगुना *twice*, तिगुना *thrice*, चौगुना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B. दुग्गुण 2, etc. (§. Ch. 109), O. तिनि गुण 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुगुना 2, तिगुना 3, चौगुना 4, सतगुना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूणा or दूणी 2, तीउणा or तिगुणा 3, चौणा or चौगुणा 4, पचौणा or पंजौणा 5, छिन्नौणा or छिगुणा 6, सतौणा or सतगुणा 7, अठौणा or अठगुणा 8, नौणा or नौगुणा 9, दसौणा or दसगुणा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेकूणो 1, बीणो 2, द्रीणो 3, चउणो or चौणो 4, पंनूणो 5, इहूणो 6, सतूणो 7, अठूणो 8, नउणो 9, उहूणो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, बिपटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण; thus एकपट् 1, दुप्पट् 2, तिप्पट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुगुना regularly for Pr. दुगुणान्, Skr. द्विगुणाकम्; E. H. तिगुना for Pr. तिगुणान्, Skr. त्रिगुणाकम्; and E. H. चौगुना for Pr. चउगुणान्, Skr. चतुर्गुणाकम्.

8. SUBTRACTIVES.

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक् कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (§. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word घाइट् (§. Ch. 110).

9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाछे *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मनन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिहलेस् or ब्राह्मनन् पाछे दुइ पं दिं *he gave the Bráhmans two paisás each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दिं *he gave two to each*.

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gds.; thus B. दश दश or दश दश करिया *by tens* (§. Ch. 108. 245), O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दश टा करिया देउ *give ten to each* (§. Ch. 245).

10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओ^०; thus दोनो बरिस् *the two years*; तीनो^० दिन् *the three days*; चारो^० ब्राह्मन् *the four Bráhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारो^० of चारि *four*, साठो^० of साठि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362. 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् *one* to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सौ एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि *about three*, दस् इग्यारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंदरह् or दस् बीस् *about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच् सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आह् दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह् चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gds. As to B. see §. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or यान्, गच्छ to a numeral (§. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes खनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिंश् or B. खान् त्रिंश् or S. द्विहारो खनु *about thirty*. — The B. खान् or यान्, S. खनु is, probably, the Skr. स्थाणुः *stake* or *post*, which becomes in Pr. थाणू or खाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खणू (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गोटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः or गोष्ठिकः *assembly, heap*, and गच्छ probably the Skr. गच्छ *a progression*.

FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1st pers. are, dir. sg. मै I, obl. sg. मो or मोँ, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2nd pers. are, dir. sg. तै thou, obl. sg. तो or तोँ, dir. pl. तूँ *you*, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. घनी (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we*, तोहनी *you*.

Note: The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2nd pers. would be *तोहन् *you*. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. *हमना and *तोहना, obl. *हमने and *तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense¹⁾. A plur. तुमन् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gds.; thus B. मुइ, O. मु or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मै (Bh.) or मइ or मय् (Bs.), M. मो, N. मै or मो; also H. H. मै. It is quite different in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. हो (Br.) or हो (Kn.) or हू (Mw.), P. हउ, G. हु, S. अउ or अ (dropping ह). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. and P. मै, S. मू or माँ, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मै सूँ from me, P. मै थो, S. मूँ खाँ or माँ खाँ; act. sg., W. H. and P. मै, G. मे, S. मू or माँ. On the other hand, the proper dir. form अ is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190), and so also 'हउ' in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gds.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मै or मे (Br.) or मै or म्है or (shortened) म or म्ह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.)²⁾, P. मे or मै, S. मू or माँ or मुहुँ³⁾, G. म or मा or मे⁴⁾, M. म or मो or म्याँ⁵⁾, N. म or मै or मो or मे⁶⁾. — There are, then, in Gd. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हो, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मै, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरौ (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहुँ only in the gen. मुहुँ जो.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मे in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मो and म्याँ only in the act., but acc. म ला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरौ, मै only in the act. मै ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. ह॒उं (H. C. 4, 375) or ह॒मुं (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or ह॒मु (Md. अस्मदो ह॒मु सुना सार्द्धं । अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः । ह॒मु भणामि ॥, i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; hamu bha-nami *I speak*). The Skr. nom. sg. is अ॒हम्, which becomes in Pr. अ॒हं or हं (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form अ॒हम् (Vr. 6, 40) or *ह॒म्. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to ह॒उं in Ap. Pr.¹⁾, and this becomes in P. ह॒उं, in Br. हो॒, in Kn. हो॒, in Mw. हूँ, in G. हुँ. — The Gd. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms म॒ङ् or म॒ह (H. C. 3, 113) or म॒हु (H. C. 4, 379). The form म॒ङ् is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that म॒ङ् is a curtailment of *म॒हि (see § 126) and the three forms *म॒हि, म॒हु and म॒ह are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह (shortened for हे and हो, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. हिं, हुं, हं are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms म॒ङ् (for *म॒हिं, cf. § 126), म॒हुं and म॒हं (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)²⁾. Now the Ap. म॒ङ् or *म॒हि is modified in O. to मु॒हि

1) Ls. 330 explains the form अ॒हम् as = अ॒हम्, analogous to Pr. तु॒मं and तुं or तं (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. form ह॒मु; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for ह॒उं. It appears to me more probable that अ॒हम् is the regular strong form of अ॒हं, and equal to *अ॒हकं, as shown by the corresponding Mg. अ॒हके (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क्; there is also a Mg. form ह॒के or ह॒गे (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form *ह॒म् and the Ap. ह॒उं; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. अ॒म् (अ॒कं) changes to अ॒उं in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has म॒ङ् according to H. C. 4, 377, but म॒ङ् according to Md. म॒ङ् इति॒भिः । म॒ङ् । म॒यि म॒या मां वार्यः ॥ again it has म॒हु according to H. C. 4, 379, but म॒हु according to K. I. and Md. उ॒सिउ॒स्मां म॒ज्जम॒हुंम॒हा । त्रयः

or मुइ, in B. मुइ, in Bs. म्वहि (for *मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुइ), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मी. The Ap. मइ is in Bs. मइ or मय्, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मै, in M. मी or म्याँ (for मे, i. e. या for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. महु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो¹) (for *मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. म्वा, and the Ap. महुं in E. H., N. मो and in S. मुहुँ (in assimilation to तुहुँ) or मू. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121²), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. म or म्ह; and the Pr. महं is in S. माँ. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically super-added to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1st pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or त्वं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुइ, in O. तु or तुइ or तुहि, E. H. तइ or तय् (Bs.) or तै (Bh.), N. त, W. H. तै or तै or तू (Br.) or तू or थू (Mw.), P. तू, S. तू, M. तू, G. तू; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तो (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वाँ or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तै or तै³), W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or तै or ते (Br.) or थो or थै or था or थ (Mw.) or तोई or त्वी or त्वै (Gw., Km.)⁴), P. तै or ते, S. तो or तुहुँ⁵), G. त or तु or ते or

स्युः ॥ and in the *Nágara Ap.* ममेत्यर्थे महुं च स्यात् । महुं घर सुन्दर । चकारान् मम च ॥ lastly the Ap. has मह according to Md. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both मह and महं according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाथ मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं ॥ *how will she make my kinship*, etc.

3) तै only in the act. तै ले *by thee*.

4) ते and था only in the gen. तेरौ (Br.), थारौ (Mw.), तू and तै only in the act. in Br. तूने or तैने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तै सूँ or थै सूँ, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहुँ only in the gen. तुहुँ जो.

तू or ता¹⁾, M. तू or त्वी or तु²⁾. All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for *तहि or *तहिं, *तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं³⁾, which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह⁴⁾ which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरो, Mw. थारो *thine* for Ap. *तहारउ, just as Br. मेरो, Mw. मारो or म्हारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or *तहि appears in P. तै or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or थ; and the Ap. Pr. तइं or *तहिं in Bs. तइँ or तयँ, Bh., Br., N. तैँ, Mw. थैँ, G. तेँ, N. तँ. The Ap. Pr. तउ or *तहु becomes

1) ता only in the gen. तारो, तेँ and तू only in the act. तेँ or तूँ, त or तु in the acc. तने or तुने.

2) M. तू or त्वी only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Md. तइं डिटाम्भिः । एभिः सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात् । तइं । त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा ॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Md. डिडसिडसां तुहतुक्ततम्भतुब्भाः स्युः ॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Md. युष्मदस् तुहुं । युष्मद इत्यधिकारः । सुनेत्येव । तुहुं सोमसि ॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहुं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं जो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह् has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. थैँ or थ (contr. for *तहिं, *तह); and the forms in इं (= *हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मइं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).

in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो¹⁾, and in W. H. तो or थो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form *तुहं is preserved in the E. H. तो or त्वा, M. त्वा (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gd. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहं or तुहुं becomes in P., S., G. तू, Mw. तू or थू, Br. तू. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically suppleradding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly S. forms the gen. तुहे (तो), abl. तोहँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. हँ and अँ (or हे, हँ). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2nd pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gd.; Pr., however, has वयं or वयं (H. C. 3, 106). But Gd. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gd. are: B. अमि or अम (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, अम-रा), O. अम्मे, E. H. हम्, N. हामी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरु or हेरु is added, हामीहरु or हामीहेरु), M. अम्ही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्हे (Mw.), G. अमे or हमे; and S. and P. असी. The various Gd. obl. forms are: B. अमा, O. अम्म or अम्भन (the latter only in the dat. अम्भङ्कु), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम्ह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हाँमी, M. अम्हा or अम्ही (only act.) or अम् (only in the gen. अम् चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमौ or हमै (Br.) or माँ or म्हाँ (Mw.) or हमुँ (Gw.)²⁾, G. अम् or अमे or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हमा or (only act.) असी, S. असाँ or असाँहे or असाँहूँ. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हापां, c) अम्हहं, d) अम्हहिं or अम्हइं, which may be spelled also अम्भ^o (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

1) In the O. H. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय बात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father*, etc.

2) हमै only in the dat. and acc. हमै कौ; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our*.

obl. form अस्मे; and अह, अहे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अहे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)¹). The Pr. अमे or अहे becomes आमे in O., अमे or हमे in G., and महे in Mw.; and the Pr. अह becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अहि or अमि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अहे (or अमे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Md. अहम् अर्थे अमिहुंममाः । अमि पण्डितु (?) । एवं हुंमम (?)). It has only survived in the B. अमि I. As to the second Pr. set अहाणं or अमाणं, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अह or अम (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अमन् and W. H. हमन् or हमनि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अहहं, अहहं, to which must be added a form *अहहुं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अह. The form अहहिं or (dropping ह्) अहहं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)²), but in Gd. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हमहिं and contracted in Br. हमै, H. H. हमे, Mw. महे, M. अही or अही, N. हाँमी. The form *अहहुं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमौ, H. H. हमो, Gw. हमू. The Ap. form अहहं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. महाँ or माँ or (dropping the *anundāsika*) in B. अमा, M. अहा, W. H., P. हमा, G. अमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with स

1) H. C. allows both अहे and अहहं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अहे to the nom. and अहहं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Md. allows both अमे and अमहं to the nom., but only अमहं to the acc., thus अमहं इति त्रिशस्र्यां । अमहं अहमु पेकल वा । अमे च तसा । अमे भणामु । चकाराद् अमहं च ॥

2) H. C. has only अहहं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Md. has both अमहिं and अमहं and allows them also to the instr., thus अमहं अमहि अमो अमाहिं अमेहिम् इति च भिन्ना । पक्ष स्युः । अमहं भणितु । एवमन्यानि ॥

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स् of the Skr. base अस्म to स्स् instead of to म्ह or म् ¹). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gd. forms; thus P. and S. असीँ is analogous to M. अम्हीँ and would presuppose a Pr. form *अस्सहिँ or *अस्सइँ; and the P. असा, S. असाँ to P. हमा, Mw. म्हाँ, presupposing Pr. *अस्सहं. In the S. असाँहेँ and असाँहूँ the obl. suff. हेँ, हूँ (for ऐँ, ऊँ) are pleonastically suppleradded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम्भ (= Skr. युष्म) for अम्ह or अम्भ. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gd. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिँ or तुम्हइँ (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) *तुम्हहुँ, all plur., and f) तुमे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अस्मि). In Gd. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्मे (a), E. H. (a) तूँ (Bh., for तूहूँ) or तोह् or तोहूँ or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) थे or (c) थैँ (Mw., for *तहे or *तहैँ, with अ for उ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्ही (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमो (with इ for अ or उ, as in Br. तिहारौ yours), S. (c) तव्हीँ or तवीँ or तहीँ or तईँ or (c) अव्हीँ or अवीँ or अहीँ or अईँ or अइँ, P. (c) तुसीँ (for Pr. *तुस्सइँ). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-रा), O. (a) तुम्भ or (b) तुम्भन् (only in the dat. तुम्भकु), E. H. (a) तोह् or तोहूँ (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हौँ or (c) तुम्हैँ

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्सिँ or सव्वस्मिँ or सव्वहिँ for *सव्वम्हिँ in all), but only स्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवस्मि in god); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form सिँ msi or सि si even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवंसिँ or देवसिँ). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Prs. and Gds. The Páli admits both स्मिन् and म्हि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तुम् (Gw.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) तौ (Mw., for *तहाँ, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारौ) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमि, S. (d) तव्हाँ or तवौ or तहाँ or तौ or (d) अव्हाँ or अवौ or अहाँ or औ, P. (d) तुसा (for Pr. *तुस्सहं) or (d) तुहा or युआ or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमौ (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the 3 of the Pr. तुम्हइ is changed to अच् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि to thee for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्ही; next either ह् or व् is dropped, making तवौ or तही; finally व् or ह् is elided, making तई; the other S. set अव्ही, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms:* viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मन् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मज्, W. H. मुज्, H. H. मुक् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुज् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तज्, H. H. तुक् or तुके, P. तुध्. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मज्ज (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मज्जु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुज्ज (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुज्जु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुध् (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मज्ज and तुज्ज are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युष्म, and declined as *nouns*. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मज्ज or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मज्जम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मज्जाणां or अम्हाणां (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मज्जसु or अम्हसु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gd. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मज्ज, तुज्ज become H. H. मुक्, तुक्, M. मज्, तुज् (with ज् for क्, § 145, note). And Gd. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोडा horse). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माके n., and तुका, तुकी, तुके. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सोँ or हमरा सोँ, just as M. माक्या हून्, loc. E. H. मोरे मे, M. माक्याँत्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मद्, त्वद्); thus महइय = मक = मत्क or तुहइय = तुक = तुह (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुहे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृश *like me*, त्वादृश *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मदृह = मत्क, तुदृह = तुक. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृश, and S. has इको = इजहो = ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृश, and the रू in the Ap. Pr. form तुध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. ऋ of दृश¹). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. *मस्य and *त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or महि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य् ever changing to स्क् in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोरू बाप् or rarely मोरा बाप् *my father*, but मोरे बाप कै *of my father*; हमारू माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई कै *of our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह-त्त, and तुक = तुह-त्त and तुध = तुह-द; त्त and द being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *khari bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as मो मे or मोरे मे in me, हम मे or हमरे मे in us, etc.

432 a.

1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैं I, हम we.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. मैं	हम्	हमलोग्	
a., d. मो के or मो के	हम् के	हमलोग् के or हमलोगन् के	
i., abl. मो से or मो से	हम् से	हमलोग् से or हमलोगन् से	
gen. मोर or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे	हमार or हमरा, री, रे	हमलोग् कै, के or हमलोगन् कै, के	
loc. मो मे or मो मे or मोरे मे	हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे or हमलोगन् मे	

b) Emphatic form: मैं ही or मैं हूँ even I.

	Singular.	Plural.
nom. मैं ही	मैं हूँ	हम ही
a., d. मोही के	मोहू के	हम ही के
i., abl. मोही से	मोहू से	हम ही से
gen. मोरै or मोरे ही	मोरौ or मोरे हूँ	हमरै or हमरे ही
loc. मोही मे or मोरै मे	मोहू मे or मोरौ मे	हम ही मे or हमरै मे
	or मोरे ही मे	or हमरे ही मे

432 b.

2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तू thou, तूँ you.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. तू	तू	तूँलोग्	
a., d. तो के or तो के	तोहू के	तूँलोग् के or तूँलोगन् के	
i., abl. तो से or तो से	तोहू से	तूँलोग् से or तूँलोगन् से	
gen. तोर or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे	तोहार or तोहरा, री, रे	तूँलोग् कै, के or तूँलोगन् कै, के	
loc. तो मे or तो मे or तोरे मे	तोहू मे or तोहरे मे	तूँलोग् मे or तूँलोगन् मे	

b) Emphatic form: तू ही or तू हूँ even thou.

	Singular.	Plural.
nom. तू ही	तू हूँ	तू ही or तू हूँ
a., d. तोही के	तोहू के	तूँहूँ के
i., abl. तोही से	तोहू से	तूँहूँ से
gen. तोरै or तोरे ही	तोरौ or तोरे हूँ	तोहरै or तोहरे ही
loc. तोही मे or तोरै मे	तोहू मे or तोरौ मे	तूँहूँ मे or तोहरै मे
	or तोरे ही मे	or तोहरे ही मे

Note: हो and हू may or may not be spelled होँ, हूँ; also हम and तुँह may be spelled हमँ and तुँहँ before होँ and ईँ (see § 67); e. g., हमँ होँ के to us, तुँहँ ईँ के to you. — The gen. pl. may also be तोहारै, हमारै, etc.

2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term. „correlative pronoun“ I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. ई (also यह् or emphatic ऐहै or इहै or इहई), obl. sg. ए or ऐह् (or emph. ऐही), pl. ऐन्ह (or emph. ऐन्हही); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. उ (also वह् or emph. ओहै or उहै or उहई), obl. sg. ओ or ओह् (or emph. ओही), pl. ओन्ह (or emph. ओन्हही); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. ते (or emph. तेहै or तिहई), obl. sg. ते or तेह् (or emph. तेही), pl. तेन्ह (or emph. तेन्हही); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. जे (or emph. जेहै or जिहई), obl. sg. जे or जेह् (or emph. जेही), pl. जेन्ह (or emph. जेन्हही); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. के (or emph. केहै or किहई), obl. sg. के or केह् (or emph. केही), pl. केन्ह (or emph. केन्हही); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. के or केह्, obl. sg. or pl. के or केह्. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. का, obl. का or काहे, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. काहे is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus का करैलह् *what do you do*, का घर मे *in what house*, काहे से खड़े *with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form से *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of ते, but has no emph. forms to express which तेहै, तिहई are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. अन् (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be

either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., त्वन् or तउन् or तौन् *he*, त्वन् or तउन् or तौन् *which*, क्वन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, तउने or तौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, तउनी or तौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms *तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities*. In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a, a* denote forms of the same group, *a, a* or *a, a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; dir. sg., B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (α) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह or इह or यह or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यह or यहु or इहु or Mw. (α) यो or ओ (masc.) and या or आ (fem.); P. (a) इह or एह or अह or (f) इत्; S. (a) ही or हे (com. gen.) or (a) हीउ or हिउ (masc.) and हीम or हिम (fem.) or (α) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इआ or ईआ (fem.) or (e) इको (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), हो (fem.), हे (neut.); N. (α) यो. Obl. sg., B. (a) ए or (α) इहा or (c) ईहा, O. (α) इहा or एहा or एहाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or यहि or Mw. (c) इपा or ई or (γ) इणी or अणी or H. H. (b) इस् or (β) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह or अह or (b) इस् or एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इनाँ only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) क्हा or वा (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or क्हास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (α) ये or ए. Dir. plur., B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह or यह or इह or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यह or (α) ये or यै or ऐ; P. (a) इह or एह or अह; S. (a) ही or हे or (α) इहे or (e) इके; G. (a) आ or एओ; M. (a) हे (masc.), क्हा

(fem.), हीँ (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन् or Bs. यन् or इन् or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हौँ (or इन्हेँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or आँ or (c) इयाँ or अयाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) अहाँ or (c) इनीँ or इन्हीँ or एन्हीँ or एनीँ (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हेँ; G. (a) एओ or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन् or इन् or Km. (a) यूँ or (c) इन्ूँ or इनो.

2) *The far dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ऊ or ओह् or वह् or उह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह् or वुह् or वुहि or उहि or (a) वो or Mw. (a) ऊ or वू (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह or ओह्; S. (a) हू or ऊ (com. gen.) or हो or ओ (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) ओलो or पेलो (masc.), आली or पेली (fem.), ओलूँ or पेलूँ (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) ऊ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (a) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओ or ओह् or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (β) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उण or वीँ or (γ) उणीँ or वणी; P. (a) उह् or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ओन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह or उन्हिअ or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (a) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऊ or ओह् or वह् or उह् or Bs. (a) ओ or उन्ह्; W. H. (a) वह् or (a) वे or वै; P. (a) उह् or ओह्; S. (a) हू or हो or (a) हूए or उए or होए or उहे; G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन्ह् or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्हौँ or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्हौँ (or उन्हेँ or विन्हेँ dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) वाँ or व्याँ or (c) उयाँ or वयाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनीँ or उन्हीँ act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ओलाओ or पेलाओ; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन्ह् or Km. (a) ऊँ or (c) उन्ूँ or उनो.

3) *The general dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (a) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेहँ; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेह् or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) सो; S. (a) सो (masc.) and सा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), तेँ (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ताहा or (c) ताँहा; O. (a) ता or (a) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिं; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह् or Bs. (a) त्या or त्यहि or (c) तवन् or (γ) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) तासु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) तिस् or (β) तिसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) तिपा or तिपाी or तपाी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (act. only) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तँहिँ (or तहाँ abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (masc.) and ति (fem.); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तइ or ते. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह् or तिह् or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) से; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (a) ते (masc.), त्या (fem.), तीँ (neut.); N. (c) तुन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेन्ह् or (c) तौन् or (γ) तौने or Bs. (a) त्यन्ह् or त्यन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि or (c) तिन्होँ (or तिन्हैँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्याँ or ताँ or (c) तिपाँ; P. (c) तिनाँ or तिन्हाँ (or तिन्हीँ or तिनीँ act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिनिनि or तिन्हनि or तिन्हिनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्याँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तिनह् or Km. (a) त्यूँ or (c) तनू or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (a) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येडु or येडँ or यौँ; E. H. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (masc.) and जा (fem.); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (masc.), जी (fem.), जेँ (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिँ or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or (c) जौन् or (γ) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्या or ज्यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि or H. H. (b) जिस् or (β) जिसे (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) जिपा or जीँ or जपा or जपाी; P. (a) जिह् or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (act. only) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जँहिँ; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्या or जा or जे (masc.), जि (fem.); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जइ or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) तेन्ह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (masc.), ज्या (fem.), जोँ (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) जिन्ह. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जेन्ह or Bs. (a) ज्यन्ह or ज्यन् or जेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जिन् or जिनि

or (c) जिन्हौँ (or जिन्हैँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) ज्यौँ or जौँ or (c) जिपाँ or जपाँ; P. (c) जिनाँ or जिन्हाँ (or जिनीँ or जिन्हीँ act. only); S. (a) जिनि or जनि or (c) जिन्हनि or जिन्हिनि or जिननि or जिनिनि; G. (a) जेओ; M. (a) ज्यतँ; N. (a) जिन्ह or जुन्ह or Km. (a) ज्यूँ or (c) जनु or जनन्.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केडु or केउँ or कौँ (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कण (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह् or किह् or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह् (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौनु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कण् (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काँईँ or कँईँ (all neut.); P. (a) किहड or (c) कौण् (com. gen.) or (a) कौ or किआ (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केओ or (d) केरहो or केहरो or केह or (e) कुजाओ (all com. gen.) or (a) छा or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) शो (masc.), शी (fem.), शुँ (neut.) or कओ (masc.), कई (fem.), कयुँ (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (a) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्याहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कण् or कौँ or कुणी or कणी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहडे or किह or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह् (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केरहे or कँहिँ or (e) कुजाडे (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोणा or कोपया or कोपो (or काणीँ instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कशा or कश्या (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) कइ or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहडे or (c) कौण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केरहा or केरे or (e) कुजाडा (com. gen.); G. (a) कआ (masc.), कई (fem.), कआँ (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन्ह or Bs. (a) क्यान्ह or क्यान् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हौँ (or किन्हैँ dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कुपाँ or कपाँ; P. (c) किनाँ or

किन्हाँ (or किनीँ or किन्हीँ act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केरहनि or (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हनि or किन्हिनि or किननि or किनिनि; M. (c) कोपाँ (com. gen.) or (b) कसाँ or कशाँ (neut.); N. (a) कुन्ह or Gw. (a) क्यूँ or कनू or कनन्.

6) *The indefinite pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) केह; O. (a) केहि or (c) कौपासि or कउपासि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केहू or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केउ or कोउ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोउ or (c) कौनौ; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपी or कोपही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like *dir.*; (W. H.) Br. (a) काहू or (b) किसू or किसी or (c) कौनौ or Mw. (a) कोँ or (c) कुपी or कपी; P. (b) किसे or किसी; S. (a) कँहिँ or कँहीँ; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपा or कोपहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like *sing.*; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोपी. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like *sing.*; P. (b) किसे or किसी or (c) किन्हाँ; S. (c) किने or कने or कनी or कन्हीँ; M. (c) कोपहाँ.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are six principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह् (occasionally elided), स्, न् (or ण्), ल् (or र्), क् (or ज्), त् respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कीवत्) so large or so much, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, जेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एम, तेम, जेम, केम (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, जिव, किव or इम, तिम, जिम, किम (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled एँव or ईँव, etc. (H. C. 3, 397. 401) or एम्ब or इम्ब, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, जे, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pleon. suff. दु,

as quant. pron., एवडु, तेवडु, etc. (H. C. 4, 407. 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. डो or डा; viz. S. एडो, तेडो, etc., P. एडा, तेडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361. 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एँव, तेँव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एम्बड् *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एम्बहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, जिह, किह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms जे (ते?), से are mentioned by Md. as nom. sg. (जे से एस सुना यत्तदेतदां । एषां सुना सह जे से एस इत्य् एते स्युः । ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वषां वा । एवं से एस ॥). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, जे, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह, तेह, जेह, केह are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. ँह (see §§ 365, 4. 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐन्ह, तेन्ह, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6. 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. याहि (for *एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for *इहि), त्यहि (for *तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. ँह usually drops the ह (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह or यन्ह or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविन्हि, Br.

कविन् or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह् occur; e. g., इह्, तिह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for *इन्हि), तिनि or तनि (with अ for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हौ, etc., P. इनाँ or इन्हाँ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of *अवह, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. *एवहु or *एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or ऊ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *एव or *एवु. In G. the latter contracts to अ *that* (abl. आ थो *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form बाहु (Kl. 137, d) for *ओहु = *एवहु; and in Br. there is the obl. form बाहि for *ओहि = Ap. *एवहि or *एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form *कवहु for Ap. *केवहु or *केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अ (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes ड to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवणु (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन् or कउन् or कौन्, in W. H. कौनु or कौन्, P. कौण्, G. and M. कोण्, Mw. कुण् or कण्, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. जेवडु becomes in G. जेवन्, in E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जौन्, W. H. जौन्, N. जुन्; and Ap. तेवडु becomes in E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कौन् or कौने, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणाहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff. हे. The Ap. एवडु gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or उन्, Mw. उण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उणी or वणी beside उण्, just like E. H. कौन् and कौने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उणाँ or वणाँ; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुण् or कण् or कुणी or कणी, obl. pl. कुणाँ or कणाँ. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवणाहं, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ, Br. उन्हौँ (= Ap. gen. *अवणाहुं = एवउहुं), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हेँ (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहिँ which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हिं (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवउ, etc., S. has the shorter forms एउो, तेउो, जेउो, केउो. Just as the Ap. एवउ becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एउो, तेउो, जेउो by changing उ to ए give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, यिनि (read ज़िनि)¹). This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इण्, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इणी or अणी, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिअ or इन्ही) or इन्हे (for *इनहे), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-रु or इनहे-रु, also spelled इन्ह-रु, इन्हे-रु, retaining the obl. suff. हे or ह, see § 364, 3)²). There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इणाँ or अणाँ, Km. इनू or इनो, P. एनाँ or एन्हाँ or इनाँ or इन्हाँ, Br. इन्हौँ, S. इन्हेँ or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इनन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. इन्हेँ, O. H. इनहिँ, and P. an act. एन्हीँ or इन्होँ. The obl. forms in न्हाँ, न्हौँ, न्हेँ contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of *नहँ, *नहुँ, *नहिँ). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एउो, तेउो, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवउ, but the near dem. on the shorter एउ.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for *इन्ह = इनह.

the obl. form एडे or एडहँ or एडहुँ *hither*, तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ *thither*, केडे or केडहँ or केडहुँ *whither*¹). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of ड् to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेने *whither-soever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or जिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gd. simple pron.; viz. O. येडँ, केडँ, G. जेव, तेव (also spelled जेड, तेड or जेओ, तेओ) or जेम, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कओ m. (कई f., कउँ n.), probably for *कवो, shortened from the strong form केवो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केओ m. (कई f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form *कउ occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for *तिवो) and जो, Mw. ज्यो or जो, Br. जौ, P. जो; M. also has masc. जो, but makes a regular fem. जी and neut. जेँ, and obl. sg. ज्या or जे, obl. pl. ज्याँ, dir. pl. जे, ज्या, जीँ; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms *जओ, *जई, *जयं. To the M. obl. pl. ज्याँ corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्याँ, Gw. ज्यूँ. The S. has m. जो, but a rather anomalous f. जा, pl. जे c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, तेँ, pl. ते, त्या, तीँ; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्याँ, Mw. त्याँ, Gw. त्यूँ. The G. neut. कउँ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कउँ *why* (H. C. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sūtras: यत्तदोर् अमा जउ तउ । अमा सह यत्तदोर् जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ मग्गसि तउ देमि ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उसिउस्य्याँ जउ तउ च । यत्तदोर् इत्य् एव । चकारात् पक्षे प्राकृतवत् ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms²). I believe, N. is the only Gd., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यत्तदो मा जउ पत्तिउ । अमा सह यत्तदोर्जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ म^० तउ द^०; there can be little doubt, that जउ, तउ (or perhaps जउँ, तउँ) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sūtra, where the MS. reads जउ,

admits *तो*, *तो* as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from which*, *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from him*. — In G., *एम*, *तेम* *thus*, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. *केम* or *केमं* *how*, etc.¹). B. adds the pleon. suff. *अन्* (§§ 209. 214); thus *एमन्* or *एमनि* or *एमने*, *तेमन्* or *तेमनि* or *तेमने* *thus*, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. *एवडु*, *तेवडु*, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. *ओलो* or *पेलो* *he, that* and the pronom. adv. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* *now*, *तइले* or *तैल्हे* *there*, etc. by the change of *ड* to *ल्*. Thus Ap. *एवडो* becomes **अवडो*, **अवलो* or contr. *ओलो* or *पेलो* (for *वेलो* with an anomalous hardening of *व्* to *प्*). The N. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* (for **एल्हे*) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. *हे* and is = Ap. Pr. *एवडहे* (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. *ताला* *there*, *जाला* *where*, *काला* *where* (H. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. *केरु* *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. *केडु* by the change of *ड* to *रू*; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. **केरिहु*, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. *केरिसो*, Skr. *कीदृशः*. The Ap. strong form **केरिहो* becomes in S. the simple pron. *केहो* *what* (usually spelled *केहरो* with transposed *ह*). Substituting in *केरिहो* the long Ap. form *केव°* for *के°*, and the original *दू* for *रू*, we obtain *केवदिहो* (cf. Pr. *कीदिसो* Ls. 116); and similarly *एवदिहो* or *एदिहो* for the ordinary Pr. *एरिसो* or **एदिसो*, Skr. *ईदृशः*. Here the palatal vowel *इ* changes *दू* to *जू*, and thus in S. the Ap. **एदिहो* and **एवदिहो* become the simple pron. *इको* *this* (for **इजिहो*, just as S. *केहो* for *केरिहो*) and *उको* *that* respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

तउ. In the original MS., which was in the Oṛiya characters उ (or उँ) would be hardly distinguishable from ड.

1) E. g., Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 28 कहैँ नरु सोँ राजन वर प्रेमं । मह सागपन सा करिहि सु केमं ॥ i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 जरोँ ताप उधरोँ केम नथ्य । i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुताडो *what* stands for the Ap. *केवदिहअउउ (with the pleon. suff. अउउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुता *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualit. pron. एत्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अजिहा or अजेहा *of this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. इदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)¹), and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एह् or इह्, Br. इहु or यहु or यह्, E. H. इह or ई (for *इअ dropping ह्) or ऐह्. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form *एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. ही or हे or हिउ (for इह, एह, इहु) transposes the ह्; and the S. इओ (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इओ) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., हो f., हे^० n. (for Ap. *इहउ, *इहिआ, इहयं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. ह्या, pl. ह्याँ, and dir. pl. हे m., ह्या f., हो^० n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding ह्) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कउँ). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Md. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तदग्र चैह सुपा। सुपा सह तंदो (दद्या ते सेश्च?) एहः स्यात्। एह तपो वाला वपां वा। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तरूपम् ॥ i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *eha* or (*ima*) as before mentioned. The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदस्; as in the succeeding rule: एहो एहु च स्वम्भ्यां। स्वम्भ्यां सह तददसोर एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेइ देकख वा। एष शोभते। एतं पश्येति। एवं एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तिं च ॥ i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *eho* or *ehu* or as before mentioned (*eha*). Md. is correct; for *eha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. ज्ञ is added, thus केहज्ञ *which*, जेहज्ञ *whichsoever* (fem. °ज्ञी). — Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कहा or P. किआ *what*, with ए shortened to इ and अ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किआ stands for *किहा and is contracted in H. H. to क्या. S. transposes ह् (i. e., किआ *khiá*, § 132, note) and changes कि *khi* to छ *chh* by the influence of the palatal इ, thus making छा (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes *किहो, *किही, *किहुं into शो, शी, शुं (for को, की, कुं, see § 11, for *किओ, *किई, *किउं). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gd. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that*, which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. सदृशः *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. *सेहो or *सेहु or *सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदृशः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. जे or जो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gd. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gd. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. सा and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, जे, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, जेह, केह, by dropping the final ह्; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहै, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. इदृशः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gd. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or अ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसौ, तैसौ, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for *ऐसो or *इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. असा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms जसु or जस्, तसु or तस्, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 थांन थांन नर उडै । चंद तस उप्पम पाइय ॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gd., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he or this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. H. has इसे, तिसे (as dat. acc. to *him or him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कौन् and कौने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. अइसहि or अइसहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किसे-रू of *what*, dat. loc. किसे to or in *what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-रू of *god*, देवे to or in *god* of देव्). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसयाह, Skr. कीदृशस्य or कीदृशकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसाँ or कस्याँ (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाहँ, etc., § 365, 4) of *whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवाँ of देव् *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, त्रिस्, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तस्स, त्रस्स, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap. Pr. to एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), तेत्तिउ, त्रेत्तिउ, केत्तिउ (cf. H. C. 4, 383) or, in the strong form, to एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for *एत्तिअउ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इत्तौ, तित्तौ, etc., H. H. इत्ता, तित्ता, O. एते, तेते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति°, तेति°, etc., G. एट°, तेट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत°, तित°, etc., E. H. ऐत°, तेत°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एटलो, etc. (see §§ 452. 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he or that*, त्रित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा of *this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इतै *here*, तित् or तितै *there*, etc., P. इत्ये, तित्ये, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्थि or इत्ये, तिति or तिते or तित्थि or तित्ये, etc. The forms इत्थि, इत्थे, etc. are contracted from इत्तहि or इत्तहे, तित्तहि or तित्तहे, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एतद् *here*, तेतद् *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)¹). By the side of the shorter forms एत्तिम्, केत्तिम्, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एवत्तिम्, केवत्तिम्, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एत्तिम् originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इत्तौ, so Pr. *एवत्तिम् (shortened *अवत्तिम्, *ओत्तिम्) becomes the far quant. W. H. उत्तौ *that much*, H. H. उता. The corresponding weak forms are S. ओति°, G. आट°, W. H. and P. उत्°, E. H. ओत°, B. अत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452. 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उत्तै, P. उत्ते, S. उति or उते or उत्ति or उत्ते; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा *of him, of that*.

8) The following Gd. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, तस्स or तास, तास or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), तासु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or तासु and तास or तासु²), in Br. only तासु and तासु (Kl. 122, a); and P. has कास् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what*, Ld. 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 65), एतहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.³). Some of the forms with आ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एतु *here*, तेतु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. from एतहु, तेतहु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see § 365, 6); and the Ap. Pr. forms ततु *where*, ततु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr.; viz. एत (for एतह = एतहु) or एताहे or एतो, see H. C. 3, 82. 83. Vr. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and तत, तत, कत, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत and एत = *एतहं abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास राज समीपं । रहो नट विद्या उचारं ॥ i. e., *near that king I remain to practise the art of the actor*.

3) Md. says: दीर्घो ऽ स्ते वा उसादेशे । स्तवर्जिते उसादेशे एषां (i. e. किंयत्तदां) दीर्घो वा स्यात् । काहो । काह । कासु । काहं । काहुं । एवं यत्तदोः ॥ स्ते । कस्स । तस्स ॥

are preserved in Gd.; thus ताहि, ज़ाहि, काहि (for *ताहे, etc.) and ताहु, ज़ाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122. 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H. and Br., and काह् in P.; in O. H. also ताह or ता¹). The Ap. Pr. loc. sg. is तहिं, ज़हिं, कहिं (H. C. 4, 357); apparently these have become general obl. forms in S. तहिं, ज़हिं, कहिं, and with अ in O. ताहिं, ज़ाहिं, काहिं, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काई^२ or कइ^३ (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap. Pr. काइ (H. C. 4, 367) and कइ (H. C. 4, 426).

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H. केहू *any one* = केहु + उ *kehu + u* and कौनो = कौन + उ *kauna + u*, M. कोणी = कोण् + ई *kon + i*, H. H. कोई = को + ई *ko + i*.

439. *Declension.* Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions: 1) those of the short form (ई, ऊ, ते, जे, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff. कर or करा. This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus कर is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but करा is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. करी (§ 384) and obl. masc. करे (§ 386), fem. करी, both in the

i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ká, yá, tá* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa*. — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff.; for in H. C. 4, 359 (तेहे) it is a gen. suff., in H. C. 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C. 4, 436 (एतहे) and H. C. 2, 134 (एताहे) it is a loc. suff.; in H. C. 3, 82 (एताहे) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह, see H. C. 2, 161 (तहि, तह); and ह or त्य is an abl. suff. in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्य = *एतह), but a loc. suff. in H. C. 2, 161 (तत्य = *तेतह).

1) Thus Chand Pr. Ráj 25, 36 न न हंस धीर न न सुख ताह ॥ i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm*; again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र अनेक गुन ॥ i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues*. — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron.; thus M. has काय् (for *काहि = *काइ); Bs. has काह् and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.

sing. and plur. (§ 386); but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form करू c. g., obl. करे m. or करी f.; just like कै and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not करू, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in ह् (viz. ऐह्, ओह्, तेह्, जेह्, केह्) and with the emph. obl. forms in ही (as ऐही, ओही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के करू घर or केह् कै घर or rarely के करा घर *whose house or houses*; के करू मेहरू or केह् कै म^० or rarely के करी म^० *whose wife or wives*; obl. sg. के करे घर मे or केह् के घर मे or rarely के करू घर मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहरू से or केह् के मेहरू से or rarely के करू or के करे म^० से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरन् मे or केह् के घरन् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरन् से or केह् के म^० से or rarely के करे म^० से *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus *whom* is के के or केह् के or कवन् के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *kharī bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. ओ करे मे *in him*, pl. ओन्ह करे मे *in them*, etc.

441.

1. Short form.

a) Simple form: ई *he, this*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ई	ई	ईलोग्
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐह् के	ऐन्ह के	ऐन्ह लोगन् के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐह् से	ऐन्ह से	ऐन्ह लोगन् से
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐह् कै, के or ए करू, करी, करे	ऐन्ह कै, के or ऐन्ह करू, करी, करे	ऐन्ह लोगन् कै, के
loc.	ए मे or ऐह् मे or ए करे मे	ऐन्ह मे or ऐन्ह करे मे	ऐन्ह लोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहौ *even he, even this.*

Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहई	इहौ or इहउ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहू के
instr., abl.	एही से	एहू से
gen.	एही कै or एही करू or ए करै or ए करे हो	एहू कै or एहू करू or ए करौ or ए करे हू
loc.	एही मे or ए करै मे or ए करे ही मे	एहू मे or ए करौ मे or ए करे हू मे

Plural.

nom.	इहै or इहई	ऐन्ह हूँ
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह हीँ के	ऐन्ह हूँ के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह ही से	ऐन्ह हूँ से
gen.	ऐन्ह हीँ कै or ऐन्ह हीँ करू or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करे हीँ	ऐन्ह हूँ कै or ऐन्ह हूँ करू or ऐन्ह करौ or ऐन्ह करे हूँ
loc.	ऐन्ह हीँ मे or ऐन्ह करै मे or ऐन्ह करे हीँ मे	ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह करौ मे or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे

Note: Like ई are declined उ *that*, ते *he*, जे *which*, के *who*; only substituting उ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he, this.*

Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तवन्	तउनी
acc., dat.	तौने के	तौनी के
instr., abl.	तौने से	तौनी से
gen.	तौने कै, के	तौनी कै, के
loc.	तौने मे	तौनी मे

Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तौनेलोग्	तौनीलोग्
acc., dat.	तौनेलोग् के or तौनेलोगन् के	तौनीलोग् के or तौनीलोगन् के

	Com. gen.	Fem.
instr., abl.	तौनेलोग् से or तौनेलोगन् से	तौनीलोग् से or तौनीलोगन् से
gen.	तौनेलोग् कै, के or तौनेलोगन् कै, के	तौनीलोग् कै, के or तौनीलोगन् कै, के
loc.	तौनेलोग् मे or तौनेलोगन् मे	तौनीलोग् मे or तौनीलोगन् मे

Note: Like तवन् are declined तवन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with अव or अउ or औ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this*.

442a. Short form: के or केहू. Long form: कौनो *any one*.

	Sing. and simple plur.	Compound plural.
nom.	के केहू कौनो केलोग्	केहू लोग् कौनो लोग्
a., d.	के के केहू के कौनो के	{ के लोग् के केहूलोग् के कौनोलोग् के
i., abl.	के से केहू से कौनो से	{ or के लोगन् के केहूलोगन् के कौनोलोगन् के
gen.	के कै, के केहू कै, के कौनो कै, के	etc. etc. etc.
loc.	के मे केहू मे कौनो मे	

Note: Like केहू is declined तेकेहू *whosoever*.

3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आप्. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आप् के *to himself* and *to themselves*.

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आप्; O. has आपे or आपण, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाण; H. H. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपण and H. H. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self*. In Pr. it becomes अप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or अप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्पु (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gd. it is आप्; in O. H. and Br., also, आपु. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gd. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्याणो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्याणु (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाण with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अन्नाणो, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2nd pers. sg. तै^० and pl. तूँ, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. रावर् or राउर् c. g., in the st. f. रउरा or रौरा m., रउरी or रौरा f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप्लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of राउर् as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gds.; thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपण (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of राउर् I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल^० (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राअउल^० or राउल^० (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives*. I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all, whosoever, some*.

a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मोर् c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमार् c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोर् c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहार् c. g. *your*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron.; viz., wk. f. एकर or ओकर c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एकरा or ओकरा m., ०री f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हकर or ओन्हकर c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हकरा or ओन्हकरा m., ०री f.

Note: The following bye-forms also occur: हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. ०री. — The adj. निज् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gds., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोर, आमार; O. मोर or मोहोर, अम्भर; W. H. मेरौ, हमारौ (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, मारो or म्हारो (Mw.); G. मारो, अमारो; N. मेरो, हाम्रो; but P. मेरा, असाडा or साडा; M. माका, अम-चा; S. मूँ-तो or मुहुँ-तो, असँ-तो. Of the second pers., B. तोर, तोमार; O. तोर, तुम्भर; W. H. तेरौ, तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ (Br.) and थारो (or थाका), थारो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिम्रो; but P. तेरा, तुसाडा or तुहाडा; M. तुका or तुम-चा; S. तो-तो or तुहुँ-तो, तव्हँ-तो or अव्हँ-तो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use आमार, अम्भर and तोमार, तुम्भर as sing. *mine*, *thine*, and form new plur., B. अमा-देर and even मो-देर *our*, तोमा-देर, तो-देर *your*, O. अम्भमानङ्कर, तुम्भमानङ्कर. Similarly also N. हामीहेरु-को, तिमिहेरु-को or तिमिहेरु-को. B. forms also अमादिगेर or आमार-देर or आमार-दिगेर and similarly तोमादिगेर, etc. — Of the refl. pron.: E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपुना, Br. अपनौ or आपनौ, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आफना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-नो, O. आपणा, but also आपणा-र (Sn. 18), S. पाँ-तो or पाँहँ-तो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मूँ-तो *mine*, M. अम-चा *our*, P. तुसा-डा *your*, S. पाँ-तो *own*, Mw. आप-रो *own*, O. आपणा-र *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोरू *mine*, हमारू *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. केर and कर, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अम्हकेरो *our*, तुम्हकेरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मईअ *mine* = Skr. मदीय (H. C. 2, 147). The aff. कर always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (H. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for *महकरउ or *महकरा, मह being the gen. of हउं *I*, cf. H. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nágara Ap. मेरो (Md. त्वदीये तेर । मदीये मेर ॥); so also in Br. मेरौ or in Mw. मारो or म्हारो. The E. H. मोरू is founded on a form *महुकरो (from gen. महु, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोरू *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुहारु (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for *तुहकरु (from gen. तुह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोरू. The Br. तेरौ and Mw. थारो presuppose an original form *तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430, 2) or have been assimilated to मेरो, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= *अम्हकरा, from gen. or base अम्ह H. C. 3, 113. 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. हमारा, W. H. हमारौ; or, by elision of ह्, B. अमारू, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्हारो; or, by shortening आ, O. अम्भर, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा, E. H. तोहरा, etc. — The P. form असा-डा (or सा-डा with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्हारो), तुसा-डा or तुहा-डा are made with the old gen. aff. डा (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the सू of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms माका, तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपन् or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरो contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the रू is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अपुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाँह-तो appears to contain the old gen. *पानह (Ap. अप्पाणाहो), contracted to पान्ह = पाँह (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or ऐतना *this much*,

तेता or तेतना *that much*, जेता or जेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in ई (§ 384, as एती or ऐतनी, etc.), and an obl. form in ए (§ 386, as gen. एते कै or ऐतने कै *of so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or केतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of जेत°, तेत°, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms जैठा or जौथा *as much*, कौथा *how much*.

453. *Affinities*. Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.; thus B. एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etā*, etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence gen. एत-रू, but एतके-रू. O. एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. H. (Br.) इतौ or इतनौ, उतौ or उतनौ, तितौ or तितनौ, etc. or (Mw.) इतरो, उतरो, तितरो, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, आटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरो or हेतिरो, ओतिरो or होतिरो, तेतिरो, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also कितौ or कितौक? as Tr. 223), N. यति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

454. *Derivation*. The quant. pron. in Pr. are एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, जेन्निओ, केन्निओ (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एन्निउ (H. C. 4, 341), केन्निउ (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एन्निओ, etc., Ap. एन्निउ, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एन्निए or एन्निइ or एन्निअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एन्निअए or एन्निअके or एन्निअकए (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एन्निअ contracts to O. एते, N. यति, etc.; Mg. एन्निअए to E. H. एता; Mg. एन्निअके to E. H. ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एन्निअकए to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एन्निलो (for एन्निओलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एन्नुलो, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or टू for त् or तू, as in Pr. पट्टण for Skr. पत्तन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरो, etc., E. H. ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ला may be super-added to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. *एन्निअकअलउ). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् or उतिक्, आतिरो, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एवन्निआ (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, etc. are in Skr. इयतिकः, तावतिकः, etc. — The E. H. forms कोया, जोया or जैठा are perhaps derived from केवतिअ, जेवतिअ with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवठा, and cerebralisation, as in G. जेटलो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एतुलो, तेतुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, जेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवन्, कीवन्. M. has them in the strong form एवठा or (with pleon. ला) एवठाला, तेवठा or तेवठाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, आवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, जे, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड् or ऐड्, तेड् or तैड्, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एडे, तेडे, जेडे, केडे (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large*, *how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. डो may be added, as एडिडो or हेडिडो, ओडिडो or होडिडो, तेडिडो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, जै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. ततिः, यतिः, कतिः, Pr. तई, जई (H. C. 1, 177), कई (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तड्, जड्, कड् (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् of *this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् of *that kind*, जइसन् or जैसन् of *which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् of *what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्ह् (or ऐसनेन्ह्), f. ऐसनिन्ह्, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or म and 4) ड or र or ल. To the first or स-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसौ, वैसौ, तैसौ (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. यसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अजिहा or अजेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहगे or हिअगे, तिहगे, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन्, etc., O. एमन्त्, तेमन्त्, etc. Of the fourth or उ-type are: Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, वैगे or वैरो, तैगे or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐनू or अनू, वनो or वनू, तनो or तनू, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. असला, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in असलाला, etc. The S. इहगे, etc. add the pleon. suff. उ. The P. अजिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहओ = Skr. ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृशः, तादृशः, यादृशः, कीदृशः, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, जारिसो, केरिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule रू (or दू) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स् (or ण्) is changed to ह्, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for *अइहो, *तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह्-type, similarly change the स् (or ण्) of Pr. वीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. विंशति, त्रिंशत्) into ह्, P. वीह्, तीह्, S. वीह, तीह. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb, Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन्, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयतकः, etc., Pr. *एवन्तओ, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एगे, P. एडा, etc.; and so also the Gw. ऐनो, where उ has been changed to न् (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. वैसौ and Gw. वनो

are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms *एवइसो (= Skr. *एवादृशः) and एवडो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सब् or सम or emph. सबै or समै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form समन् or सबहन्; thus gen. सब् or सम कै of *all* taken as a whole, but समन् or सबहन् कै of *all* taken severally.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सबु, W. H. सब् or सबरू, P. सम, G. सम or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. समु m., सम f., or समुको m., °की f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms समोई and मिझ्योई or मिडोई. — E. H. also uses सकरू or सगरू and सारा *all, whole*.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सब्बो, in the Ap. Pr. सब्बु (H. C. 4, 366) or *सबु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सबु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सबरू (emph. सबरै). The form सम has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आफु *self* for आपु, आधि *before* for आगि, etc. — The S. समुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. मिझ्योई or मिडोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. समोई or सबोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial म् of the remainder मिडो stands for व (see § 134); the final इझ्यो or इडो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेर्यो or पेहेरो *first* (see §§ 118. 213), योरिडो *very little* (Tr. 79), एडिडो *so small* (§ 455). In S., स् often changes to ह् (see Tr. XXX); hence सब° may have become हव° or हम°, next हम्° (by suppressing अ), next स° (cf. Mw. म्हाँरो or मँँरो *our* for Br. हमारौ). — The E. H. सगरू is the Skr. सकल° (see § 102); and सारा is, perhaps, really the past part. of सारब् to complete, the causal of the R. सृ (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is जेकेहू which is both masc. and fem.; and जेकिहु *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.

They are compound forms, made of *जे* and *केहू* or *किछु*, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. *जेकेहू कै* of *whomsoever*.

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. *जेको* m., *जेका* f., *जेकी* n. (Tr. 213); B. *जेकिछु* or *जेकोन्* n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is *केतना* or *कई* which is masc. and fem., and *किछु* or *कुछ* or *कछु* which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. *केतने लोगन् कै* of *some men*, *कई घोरन् कै* of *some horses*, *किछु बात कै* of *some thing*. When *केतना* is used independantly, it forms the obl. *केतनन्*, and to *कई* the pleon. aff. *एक्* (§ 289) is added; thus gen. *केतनन् कै* or *कईएक् कै* of *some*.

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. *किछु*, O. *किछि*, Br. *कछु*, H. H. *कुछ*, M. *काँही*, Mw. *काँई* or *कँई*, S. *की*, P. *कुछ*. I know no satisfactory derivation for *किछु*, perhaps it is Pr. **किञ्चिहु* = Skr. *किञ्चित्* बलु.

466. Here may be added the E. H. *आन्* or *दूसर* or *अउर* or *पराई* *another*, and *एक् दूसर* *one another*.

Note: *आन्* is the Mg. *अन्ने* (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. *अन्यः*; — *अउर* is the Mg. *अवले*, Skr. *अपजः*; — *पराई* seems to be connected with the Skr. *परकीयः*; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. *पराई* (H. C. 4, 350) or *पराया* (H. C. 4, 376). — On *दूसर* see § 271.

6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) *of place*, *इहँ* or *इहाँ* or *इहवाँ* or *एठे* or *एठाँ* or *ऐदुँ* or *ऐठान्* or *ऐठाई* *here*; *ताँ* or *तहँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहवाँ* or *तेठाँ* or *तेदुँ* *there*; *जहाँ* or *तहँ* or *जहवाँ* or *जेदुँ* *where*; *काँ* or *कहँ* or *कहाँ* or *कहवाँ* or *केदुँ* *where?* The same in emph. form are: *इहवै* or *ऐहीठे* or *ऐहीठाँ* *even here*; *तहवै* or *तेहीठे* or *तेहीठाँ* *even there*; *जहवै* or *जेहीठे* or *जेहीठाँ* *even where*; *कहवै* or *केहीठे* or *केहीठाँ* *even where?*

b) of direction, ऐहर् or ऐहवर् *hither*; ओहर् or ओहवर् *thither*; तेहर् or तेहवर् *thither*; जेहर् or जेहवर् *with*; केहर् or केहवर् *with*?

c) of time, अब् now, तब् then, जब् when, कब् when? In emph. form: अबहीँ or अबहियैँ even now; तबहीँ or तबहियैँ even then; जबहीँ or जबहियैँ even when; कबहीँ or कबहियैँ even when?

d) of manner or cause: यूँ or एउँ or एओँ or अइसे or ऐसे in this manner or for this cause; त्यूँ or तेउँ or तेओँ or तइसे or तैसे thus or therefore, also then; ज्यूँ or जेउँ or जेओँ or जइसे or जैसे in which manner or for which cause, also when; क्यूँ or केउँ or केओँ or कइसे or कैसे how or why or काहे why, केह् काज् or काहे बदे what fore, काहेँ why not?

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एया or हेया, ओया or होया, तथा' or सेया, यथा (i. e. तथा), कोया or (h) ए खाने, ओ खँ, से खँ, ये खँ, कोन् खँ, or (d) हेदे here, or (γ) हेरो here. O. (a) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येउँ ठारे, केउँ or कोँ ठारे, etc. Bs. (a) ऐठ्याँ or ऐठ्यन्, ओठ्याँ or ओठ्यन्, तेठ्याँ or तेठ्यन्, etc., or (b) उहँ or उहाँ or उहवाँ, इहँ, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इतै, उत् or उतै, तित् or तितै, जित् or जितै, कित् or कितै or कत्, or (b) यहाँ or याँ, वहाँ or वाँ, तहाँ or ताँ, जहाँ or जाँ, कहाँ or काँ; Mw. (a) अठै or अठी or ईँठै, उठै or उठी or ऊँठै, जठै or जठी (or जैँठै?), कठै or कठी or कैँठै or कोठै (also अउै, जउै, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्ये, उत्ये, तित्ये, जित्ये, कित्ये; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्ये, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्ये, तिति or तति or तित्थि or तिते or तित्ये or तते, जिति or जित्थि or जति or जिते or जित्ये or जते (also जाते or जात्ये), किति or कित्थि or कति or किते or कित्ये (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, आँहीँ, त्याँ or तहीँ or ताँहाँ, ज्याँ or जहीँ or जाँहाँ, क्याँ or कहीँ or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येथेँ, तेथेँ, जेथेँ or जिये, केथेँ or (α) कोठेँ (Man. 100); N. (b) र्हाँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or आहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, जहाँ or जाँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, अमने, कमने; O. (γ) एने, केने; E. H. (c) ऐह-र् or ऐहव-र्, etc.; in some parts also (γ) एने or (c) एमह-र् or (γ) एनह-र्, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधर्, उधर्, तिधर्,

जिधर, किधर; P. unknown; S. (γ) एडे or हेडे or एडहँ or ऐडहँ or एडहुँ or हेडहुँ, ओडे or होडे or ओडहँ etc., तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ, जेडे etc., केडे etc.; G. (γ) आणी-गम्, तेणी-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), तिकडे, जिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) याँहिँ, वाँहिँ, ताँहिँ, जाँहिँ, काँहिँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेठा कु *thither*, etc.

c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एवे, तवे, यवे, कवे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) ए-खन्, त-खन्, य-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एवे, तेवे, येवे, केवे; E. H. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्; W. H. (c) अबै or अबे, तबै or तौ (= तब्), जबै or जौ, कबै, or (d) जदू or जदै or जदा or तदू, तदू or तदै, कदू or कदै or कदा or कदू, or (e) जरै, तरै; O. H. (c) ताम, जाम; P. (d) तदू, जदू, कदू; S. (c) ताँ, जाँ, or (γ) तडिहीँ, जडिहीँ, कडिहीँ; M. (c) एवहाँ, तँव or तेवहाँ, जँव or जेवहाँ, केवहाँ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) आताँ *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्, or (c) अइले or ऐल्हे, तइले or तैल्हे, जइले or जैल्हे, कइले or कैल्हे, or (e) जरू, तरू.

d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., केमन् or केमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) (एमन्त, सेमन्त, येमन्त?), केमन्त or कियँ or काहिँ-के or काहा-र; O. H. एम or एमि, तेम or तिमि, जेम or जिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एउँ, तउँ, जउँ, कीउँ; S. (c) ईँअ or होँअ or ईँअ or हिँअ or इँएँ, उँअ or हूँअ or उँअ or हुँअ or उँएँ or हुँएँ, तीँअ or तिँअ or तिँएँ, जोँअ or जिँअ or जिँएँ, कीँअ or किँअ or किँएँ; G. एम्, आम्, तेम्, जेम्, केम्; M. (f) असेँ, तसेँ, जसेँ, कसेँ (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) यसै, तसै, जसै, कसै, or यस्तै, तस्तै, जस्तै, कस्तै, or (h) यसो-गरि, तसो-गरि, etc., क्कान् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-ठुँ *whence*, E. H. कहाँ-से or केहरू-से *whence*, कब्रू-से *since when*, कब्रू-तक् or कहाँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सीँ or का-सीँ or के-सीँअ or के-तार्ईँ *how long* (Tr. 394); N. काँहाँ-वाट् or काँहाँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्योँ

hence, उत्यो^० *thence*, etc. (Ld. 70. 103); M. (a) एयून् (Man. 126) or इकडून् *hence*, तिकडून् *thence*, etc. (Man. 100, 2. d); Mw. (a) घटा सँ *hence*, कठा सँ *whence*, etc.; S. (a) इतँ or इताऊँ or इतहँ or इताहँ or (γ) एउँ or एउाऊँ or एउहँ or एउाहँ *hence*, etc. (Tr. 394. 39P); O. काहुँ *whence*.

469. *Derivation.* The case of the pron. adv. is similar to that of the pron. themselves (see § 438). Here also, there are six different types, marked *a* (or *α*), *b*, *c* (or *γ*), *d*, *e*, *f* respectively; and the adverbs are in reality obl. forms of what were originally qual. or quant. pron. adj. Thus: 1) the Ap. Pr. uses the obl. form (or loc. sg.) in हे of the quant. pron. एत्तिअ, etc. as pron. adv. of place (as explained in § 438, 7), एत्तहे, तेत्तहे, etc. (H. C. 4, 436); in P. and S. they are contracted to इत्ये (for *इत्तहे), तित्ये or (eliding ह) W. H. इतै, तितै or S. इते, तिते or (shortening the final ए) इति, तिति, etc. The M. येथे^०, तेथे^०, etc. are similarly contracted from Ap. Pr. एत्तहिं, तेत्तहिं (with the obl. or loc. suff. हिं H. C. 4, 357, see also § 378, 3); and the B. एथा, तथा (also एथाय्, तथाय्, see S. Ch. 214. 222), etc. from the Pr. एत्ताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134), etc. There is also a series of by-forms of this *a*-type (marked *α*) which substitute ठ् for थ्; e. g., Mw. अठै, तठै (like S. इत्ये), E. H. ऐठे^०, तेठे^० (like M. येथे^०), O. एठा, सेठा (like B. एथा), etc.; analogously to the change in the pron. adj., G. एतलो *so many* for E. H. ऐतना, S. एतिरो, etc. It appears, that some confusion originated at an early period between the terminations था and ठा, थे^० and ठे^०, थे and ठे and the nouns (loc.) थान् or ठान्, थाई^० or ठाई^० *in a place*. The E. H. emph. forms एही-ठाई^० or एही-ठे^०, etc., and the O. येउँ-ठाहुँ, केउँ-ठाहुँ can hardly be explained on any other theory. Indeed, the real phrases, E. H. ए थान् *in this place*, ते थान् *in that place*, etc., B. ए खान्, त खान् (with ख् for थ् as in Pr. खाणू for Skr. स्याणुः, H. C. 2, 7) are not unfrequently used. — Again 2) Ap. Pr. uses the loc. sg. in हिं or इं of the quant. pron. एम्ब as a pron. adv. of time and manner: एम्बहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420) and एम्बइं or एम्बइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 421. 420). In B. and O. they are contracted to एवे or एबे, and in W. H. shortened to अबै *now*,

O. H. इमि *thus* (for *एमि), S. इएँ *thus* (for *इमेँ or *इवेँ). Similarly the W. H. तबै, O. H. तिमि, S. तिएँ, etc. postulate an Ap. Pr. तेम्बहिँ or तेम्बइ, etc. The Ap. Pr. also uses the plain obl. form (without suff., H. C. 4, 345) एम्ब *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), तेम or तेवँ or तिम or तिवँ *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401. 397). They become in O. H. and G. एम, तेम, etc., in S. एउँ, तउँ (changing व *va* to उ) or इअँ, तिअँ (eliding म् or व्) or ईअँ, तीअँ, etc. (with ई, perhaps, to compensate for the elision of the conj. म्), in W. H. contracted यौँ, त्यौँ, etc. or E. H. यूँ, त्यूँ (for *एउँ, *तेउँ) *thus*, etc.; but also as adv. of time M. तँव *then*, E. H. and H. H. अब् *now*, तब *then*, N. अब्, तब, etc. B. adds the pleon. suff. अन्, thus एमने or एमनि or एमन् *thus*, etc. (= Ap. Pr. *एम्बउइ); so also W. H. एवन् *thus*, etc. B. also uses these forms as adv. of place or direction, thus एमने *here* or *hither*. N. adds to them the pleon. suff. ल and uses them as adv. of time; thus ऐल्हे (= Ap. Pr. *एविल्लहे) or अइले (= Ap. *एविल्लइ), etc. The O. H. and E. H. use the shorter form ए, etc. for एव or एम्ब, etc., and add the pleon. suff. न (= Ap. उ); thus एने *here* or *hither*, etc. (for B. एमने, Ap. Pr. *एम्बउइ); so also S., which preserves the original उ; thus एउे *hither*, etc. S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हँ and हुँ (H. C. 4, 340, see also § 378, 3) instead of ए; thus एउहँ or एउहुँ *hither*, etc. These last forms are purely Ap. Pr., exc. that in that language they would be loc. plur. Similarly the obl. suff. हँ is used in the M. एव्हँ *now*, etc. (for *एव्हअँ with transposed ह् for *एवहँ). In the M. forms इकडे *hither*, etc. (shortened for *एकडे) both the pleon. suff. क and उ have been added. The simpler forms तिको, तिको (without उ) occur in Mw. (see Kl. 132). This seems to me more probable, than the assumption of a compound इ + कडे *on this side* from the subst. कउ *side* (as Man. 127). S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हिँ (H. C. 4, 347. 357), probaby confused with the emph. aff. ई or ही, in तडिहीँ *then*, etc. — The Ap. also uses the forms ताम, ताम (for तेम, तेम = Skr. तावत्, यावत्, H. C. 4, 406) as adv. of time. They are in O. H. (Chand) ताम, ताम and in S. ताँ, ताँ. — The E. H. ऐहर *hither*, etc. (lit. ऐह-र) contain the loc. suff. र (shortened for रे,

as in O. हत-रे *in the hand*) and the obl. form ऐह (on which see § 438, 1); similarly E. H. ऐहवर (transposed for ऐवहर), ऐमहर or ऐम्हर, ऐनहर or ऐन्हर *hither*, etc. contain the obl. forms ऐवह or ऐमह or ऐनह of the bases एव or एम or एन. — Again 3) the Ap. Pr. has the pron. adv. तहाँ, तहाँ, कहाँ (H. C. 4, 355). They are stated by H. C. to be abl. forms in the phrases तहाँ होतओ आगदो *he came thence*, etc. That phrase means lit. *he came being there*, i. e., *from there*. In fact, होतओ is the abl. aff. added to the adv. of place तहाँ, just as in O. H. तहाँ हुंतो, E. H. तहाँ से (see §§ 376, 1. 468, p. 312). Those Ap. Pr. forms are still used as adv. of place in E. H. and W. H. तहाँ *there*, etc. or, slightly modified, in G. and N. ताँहाँ, etc. They are, I think, derived by means of the obl. suff. हं (forming gen., abl. and loc. in Ap. Pr., see § 376, 4) from the qual. bases Ap. Pr. एह, तेह, etc., but shortening ए to इ or अ; thus Ap. Pr. एहहं, E. H. इहाँ (for *इहहं), W. H. यहाँ; Ap. Pr. तेहहं or तहाँ, E. H. तहाँ (compare Ap. Pr. तुम्हहं होतओ आगदो *he came from you*, H. C. 4, 373). Similarly the Ap. Pr. obl. or loc. suff. हिं is contained in the G. तहीँ *there*, etc. (for Ap. *तेहहिं) and perhaps in the N. ताँहिँ *thither*, etc. — Again 4) the forms M. असेँ, N. यसै, E. H. ऐसे *thus*, etc. are obl. forms of the Ap. Pr. qual. pron. अइसो, etc. (H. C. 4, 403, the Ap. instr. would be अइसेँ, loc. अइसइ or अइसे H. C. 4, 342. 334, but see § 367, 2. 4 on such obl. forms). — Again 5) the W. H. forms इधर *hither*, etc. are perhaps contracted for इदह-र and connected with the Pr. qual. pron. एदह, etc. (H. C. 2, 157); the medial अ being suppressed and the loc. aff. र (for रे) added. To this type belong the B. हेदे *here* (S. Ch. 215) for *एधे or *एदहे = Pr. loc. sg. एदहे, and the W. H. adv. of time तदै or तदा or तदू or तद *when*, तदै *then*, etc. for *तदहे (eliding ह) or Pr. तैदहे, etc. Similarly W. H. has इदर *hither*, etc. by the side of इधर, etc. — Again 6) the Mw. तरै, त्रै, N. तरू, त्रू *then, when* are, perhaps, connected with the Skr. तर्हि, त्रिहि; or they may be of the same origin as the P. तेडे *whither*, तेडे *thither* (see Nro. 2 changing इ or उ to रू); and the B. हेरो *here* (S. Ch. 215) also belongs to this type. — Lastly, the B. ए खन् *now*, etc. are com-

pounds of ए *this* and खन् *moment* (Skr. क्षण, Pr. खण H. C. 2, 20), and the N. यसो गरि *thus*, etc. of यसो *such* and गरि *having done* (conj. part. of the R. करू *to do*, for करि); just like B. ए खान् *here* (see Nro. 1).

FOURTH SECTION. INFLECTION OF VERBS.

FIRST CHAPTER. FORMS OF THE VERB.

470. There are two *kinds* of verbs, the transitive and the intransitive; two *degrees*, the simple and the causal, of which the causal is always transitive; two *voices*, the active and the passive, of which the intransitive verb possesses only the active, but the trans. has both; four *moods*, the indicative, conjunctive, imperative, infinitive, to which may be added as a fifth mood the participles.

1. KINDS.

471. A trans. verb is formed from an intrans. by lengthening the radical vowel, viz. अ to आ, इ to ई or ए, उ to ऊ or ओ; and *vice versa* an intrans. from a trans. by shortening the same vowel. Thus from the intr. कट्ब् *to be cut* comes the trans. काट्ब् *to cut*; similarly गड्ब् *to be buried*, गाड्ब् *to bury*; मर्ब् *to die*, मार्ब् *to kill*; लदब् *to be laden*, लादब् *to load*; मिलब् *to be mixed*, मेलब् *to mix*; दिखब् *to be seen*, देखब् *to see*; दिसब् *to be seen*, दीसब् *to see*; लिपब् *to be smeared*, लीपब् *to smear*; खुलब् *to be opened*, खोलब् *to open*; कुटब् *to be loosed*, क्खोड्ब् *to loose*; गुथब् *to be plaited*, गूथब् *to plait*. Again from the trans. उखाड्ब् *to pluck up* comes the intr. उखड्ब् *to be plucked up*; likewise नहायब् *to bathe*, नहब् *to flow*, etc., see also § 351. Trans. and intr. verbs are conjugated alike, except in the 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind., where they have different forms (see § 504); e. g., tr. कइलेस् *he did*, but intr. गइल् *he went*.

472. *Affinities.* In all Gds. these sets of trans. and intr. verbs occur; but in M. and S. the trans. root may optionally end in इ; thus M. सुट् to get loose, but सोडि to loose; S. मर् to die, but मारि to kill (see Tr. 48); e. g., M. सुटतो I get loose, but सोडितो I loose or (in Konkani, see Man. 68, note) सोडतो; again सुटला it got loose, but सोडिला he loosed; again सुटत् getting loose, but सोडोत् loosing, etc.; again S. मरणु to die, but मारिणु (or in Lari) मारणु to kill; again मरु die thou, but मारि kill thou; again मरंदो dying, but मारिंदो killing; again S. सुनि or सुनु hear thou, सुनंदो or सुनींदो hearing, etc. But E. H. कुटतो, कुटलो, कुटत्; मरब्, मर्, मरत्; and so also कोडतो, कोडलो, कोडत्; मारब्, मार, मारत्; सुन्, सुनत्.

473. *Derivation.* As a rule, the E. H. intrans. and its respective trans. verb correspond to the simple verb and its resp. causal in Skr., where the causal is made by lengthening the radical vowel of the simple verb with *guṇa* or *vr̥ddhi*. In some cases, however, the E. H. trans. and intr. verbs correspond to the Skr. act. and pass. verbs; see § 351. The originally causal character of such Gd. trans. verbs is shown by their possessing the Skr. causal suff. इ in M. and S.

2. DEGREES.

474. The causal is formed from the simple verb by adding the suff. ऋब् to the root (see §§ 339: 349). To the causal root, thus formed, the infin. suff. ऋब् or इब् is reattached. If the simple root contains a long vowel it is shortened; viz. आ to अ, ई and ए to इ (or ऐ), ऊ and ओ to उ (or औ). Thus S. V. करब् or करिब् to do, S. R. कर, whence C. R. कराब्, inf. कराइब् (eliding व् by § 33) to cause to do; or S. V. मिल् to mix, S. R. मिल्, whence C. R. मिलाब्, inf. मिलाइब् to cause to mix; similarly S. Vs. पीयब् to drink, लेब् to take, घूमब् to turn, बोलब् to speak, whence C. Vs. पियाइब् to cause to drink, लियाइब् or लेयाइब् to cause to take, घुमाइब् to cause to turn, बुलाइब् or बोलाइब् to call, etc.

Exception. खाब् or खाइब् to eat, R. खा, forms its causal खियाइब् to cause to eat for *खयाइब् (cf. § 55).

Note: Observe that, according to §§ 25. 33. 34, the suff. *आव्* may, in certain positions, undergo various changes, viz. *व्* is elided before *इ* or *ई*; *आ*, when antepenultimate, is shortened to *अ*, and *व्* vocalised to *उ*, while *अ + इ* may change to *ऐ* and *अ + उ* to *औ*. Thus *चलाई* *he will cause to walk* (for **चलावी*); *चलइबो*° or *चलैबो*° *I shall cause to walk* (for **चलाविबो*°); *चलउतो*° or *चलौतो*° *I cause to walk* (for **चलावतो*°); but *चलावत्* *he causes to walk* (not *चलउत्*).

475. *Affinities.* The causal is formed nearly in the same way in all Gds.; but B., O., H. H. and S. use the caus. suff. *आ*, as C. R. *पढा teach* of S. R. *पढू read*; E. H. and G. have *आव्*, as *पढाव्*; W. H. has *आव्* or *आउ*, as *पढाव्* or *पढाउ*; P. and N. have *आउ*, as *पढाउ*; M. has *अवि*, as *पढवि*. The shortening of *आव्* to *अव्* (as in M.) also occurs occasionally in Hindī (poëtry), as *पुत्रव्* for *पुत्राव् fill* (see Kl. 207) and *पुरव्* for *पुराव् fill* (Kl. 228); so also the contraction of *आव्* to *औ*, as *रिसौ* for *रिसाव् be angry* (Kl. 228); and H. H. optionally contracts *आव्* to *ओ* in *डुबो* or *डुबा immerse* of R. *डूब्*, and *भिगो* or *भिगा* (for *भिगाव्*) *moisten* of R. *भीग*; also in P. *भिगो* (Ld. 67); M. occasionally changes *अवि* to *इव* in trans. verbs, as *सोडिव* or *सोडवि loose* (Man. 78, note. 110), and sometimes retains *आव्*, as *बोलावि* or *बोलवि call* (Man. 109). — Monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel, form in most Gds. irregular caus.; thus the C. Rs. of R. *खा eat* are in B. *खामोया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *खुआ* (Sn. 37), E. H. *खियाव्*, W. H. *खवाव्* (or *खवा* Kl. 207. 217), P. *खुआउ* (Ld. 67), M. *खाववि* (Man. 77), G. *खवाउ* (Ed. 114), S. *खारा* (Tr. 257), H. H. *खिला*. Again of R. *दे give* they are in B. *देमोया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *दिया* (Sn. 37), E. H. *दियाव्* (also Bs. *दिवाव्*), W. H. *दवाव्* or *दिराव्* (Kl. 214), M. *देववि* or *देविव्* (Man. 118), G. *दवाउ*, S. *डिमार* (Tr. 256), H. H. *दिला*. Exactly analogous are the C. Rs. of the Rs. *जा go* and *ले take*; but H. H. has *लिवा cause to take*, not **लिला*. Similarly formed are the C. Rs. of *पी drink*, *सी sew*, *जी live*; thus S. *पिमार*, *जिमार* (Tr. 256), G. *सीवाउ* (Ed. 114), H. H. *पिला*, *सिला*, *जिला*; but E. H. regularly *पियाव्*, *सियाव्*, *जिलाव्*. Also of the Rs. *चू leak*, *सो sleep*, *रो weep*,

धो *wash*, ढो *carry*, बो *sow*; thus H. H. चुला, सुला, रुला, धुला, हुला, G. बलाड् (but H. H. बोला), S. चुआर् (Tr. 256). Some roots which end in consonants, form irregular causals in the same manner; thus R. सिख् or सोख् *learn* has in H. H. सिखला, S. सेखार् (Tr. 257) *teach*, but regularly in E. H. and W. H. सिखाव्, N. सिखाउ, M. शिकवि (Man. 78), B. and O. (also optionally H. H.) सिखा; again R. देख् *see* in H. H. optionally दिखला or दिखा, P. दिखाल् or दिखलाउ (Ld. 67), S. डेखार् (Bs. I, 242) *show*, but regularly E. H. and W. H. दिखाव्, N. देखाउ, etc. Again R. कह् *speak* in H. H. optionally कहला or कहा (*be called*, in pass. sense, see § 354, 2), G. केहेवडा (Bs. I, 243), but regularly in E. H. कहाव्. Again R. बह् or बिह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्) in H. H. बहला (in the sense of *amuse*, lit. *cause to sit*), P. बहाल् (Ld. 87), S. बिहार (Tr. 256). Again R. बैह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्ट) in H. H. optionally बिठला or बैठाल् or बैठा; and R. पैह् *enter* (Skr. प्रविष्ट) in H. H. पैठाल् (Kl. 186). Again R. पाह् *see* in M. पाहववि (cf. Man. 75); R. लिह् *write* in M. लिहववि (Man. 77); R. जोह् *regard* in H. जुहार *salute* (lit. *cause to be regarded*); R. उम् *be excited* (cf. H. C. 2, 57) in H. उभार *excite*; R. उय् *rise* in S. उयार् (Tr. 257); R. सुम्ह् *sleep* in S. सुम्हार; R. डित् *be afraid* in S. डितार्; R. बिह्तिन् *bathe* in S. बिहितार् (Tr. 257); R. तम् *eat* in G. तमाड् (Ed. 50); R. घट् *diminish* in G. घटाड् (Bs. I, 243), and others.

476. *Derivation.* Caus. verbs are formed in Skr., as a rule, by adding the suff. अय (or इ) to the S. R., but exceptionally also by means of the suff. आपय (or आपि), as क्षापयति *he causes to tremble* from S. R. क्षाय्; चापयति *he causes to collect* from S. R. चि, etc. In Pr. these two suff. become ए and आवे resp. (Vr. 7, 26. 27); in later Pr. (by a change of class, see § 347) अ and आत्, and finally in Gd. अ-quiescent and आव् (see § 349). Besides, while in Skr. the formation with आपय is exceptional, in Pr. the two modes of formation with ए and आवे are equally common; and finally in Gd. the formation with आव् (or आउ or आ) is the exclusive one, while the other is only preserved in the trans. verbs (see §§ 471—473). Thus Skr. S. R. मृ *die*, C. R. मारय (or

मारि) *kill*, Pr. मारे or मार, E. H. मारू; again Skr. कृ *do*, C. R. कारय (or *कराय), Pr. कारे or कार or करावे or कराव, E. H. करावू; or in the 3. sg. pres. ind. Skr. मारयति, Pr. मारेइ or मारइ, E. H. मारै; Skr. कारयति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ or करावेइ or करावइ, E. H. करावै. — The Gd. suff. आव् changes व् to उ in N. and P. (cf. § 34) and drops it in B., O., H. H. and S.; it also shortens आ to अ in M. The Pr. suff. आवे becomes in M. अवि or अव (cf. § 472); the former is trans. and forms causals, the latter is intr. and forms potent. pass. (see § 483). — The irregular monosyll. verbs appear to use the double causal (see §§ 477. 478) in the place of the ordinary one; compare e. g.; M. खाववि *cause to eat* (for *खावावि), B. खाओया (for *खावा with आओ for आव्), W. H. खाव्, O. खुआ (with उ for अ्व्) with M. निजववि or निजविव *cause to cause to sleep* (Man. 109); again S. खारा *cause to eat* (contr. for *खआरा) with S. फेरारा *cause to cause to turn* (Tr. 258). The G. खाव् *cause to eat* is transposed for *खवडा; the original form is preserved in G. केहेवडा *cause to speak* from R. केह्, and the suff. अवडा or अवव् belong to the double causal, as may be seen from the M., where roots in ह्, as a rule, take the double caus. suff. अववि (Man. 77); e. g., लिहववि *cause to write* from R. लिह्. Similarly the S. suff. आर or आरा (for *अवार or *अवराव्), H. H. आल् or आला are double causal suff. The origin of these strange forms °डा, °रा, °ला which are confined to the W. Gds. (espec. G. and S.) is very obscure. The identification of ल् with the य् of the Skr. caus. suff. अय (as Bs. I, 241) is hardly correct; for the H. ल् as well as the S. र् are modifications of the G. उ (or उ)¹), but the Skr. य् could not possibly change into उ. It should be observed, that there is a remarkable similarity between the Gd. caus. formation and that of Psh. The latter language forms causals by means of the suff. अव or एव्; the former corresponding to the M. अवि, G. आव्, S. आ; the latter to the G. आउ, S. आर,

1) Not *vice versa*; उ sometimes changes to ल्, see § 105; but never ल् to उ.

H. H. आल्. See also the remarks in § 354, 2. A few instances of caus. in आउ occur in the Pr.; e. g., भमाउेइ or भमाउइ (besides the regular भामेइ or भमावेइ or भमावइ) of R. भम् *roam* (H. C. 3, 151); also तमाउइ (H. C. 4, 30. see also H. C. 4, 161); धंसाउइ *he looses* (H. C. 4, 91).

477. From the caus. verb an other causal may be formed, precisely in the same way, by adding the suff. आव् to the caus. root, the long आ of which is shortened to अ. Thus S. V. पठ् to read, S. R. पठ्, C. R. पठाव् *cause to read* (i. e. *teach*), whence other C. R. पठ्वाव्, inf. पठ्वाइव् *to cause to cause to read* (i. e. *to cause to teach*). This I shall designate the *double causal*. It may, obviously, be formed from the simple verb immediately, by adding to the S. R. the compound or reduplicated suff. अवाव्. These double causals are conjugated in every respect like the ordinary causals.

Note: The double caus. of a trans. verb implies that something is done by the intervention of a *third* person; as कर्त्तु means *to do*, कर्त्ताइव् *to cause an other person to do it*, but कर्त्तावाइव् *to order an other person to cause a third person to do it*. In the case of an intr. verb, the double caus. has the sense of an ordinary caus., and the ordinary caus. the sense of a trans.; as बनत् *to be made*, बनाइव् *to make*, बनवाइव् *to cause an other person to make it*.

478. *Affinities and Derivation.* The double caus. probably exists in all Gds., and it is formed in the same way by reduplicating the ordinary caus. suff. Thus E. H. has अवाव्, W. H. अवाव् or अवाउ, P. अवाउ, M. अववि or अविव (Man. 109), G. अवाव् (or अवडा), S. आरा (Tr. 257), H. H. (and probably B. and O.) अवा. Thus of R. पठ् *read*, double caus. R. in E. H. पठ्वाव्, W. H. पठ्वाव् or पठ्वाउ, P. पठ्वाउ, M. पठ्वावि or पठ्वाविव, G. पठ्वाव्, S. पठ्वा, H. H. पठ्वा *to cause to cause to read*. The principle of the formation of the double caus. seems to be analogous to that of the redundant forms of subst. (see § 203). As there the pleon. suff. क्, so here the caus. suff. आपि is reduplicated (i. e. *अपापि or *अपापय).

3. VOICES.

479. The passive voice is formed by adding to the past part. of the act. verb the auxiliary जाइब्, which is the same as the intrans. verb जाइब् to go and is conjugated in the same manner. The past part. undergoes no change whatever may be the gender or number of the subj. Thus act. खाइब् to eat, pass. खायल् जाइब् to be eaten; or पढैला he reads, pass. पढल् जाला it is read. This I shall call the compound passive.

Exception. The pass. of the verbs जाइब् to go and होइब् to become is not formed with their ordinary past part. गयल् and भयल् but with the special past part. forms जायल् and होयल् (see § 304).

Note: Observe that the comp. pass. is very rarely used in E. H. or, indeed, in any of the Gds. It is commonly paraphrased by means of compound verbs; e. g., to be beaten is मारू खाइब्, lit. to eat a beating, not मारा जाइब्.

480. *Affinities.* All Gds. form this pass. by composition with the verb जाइब्, except S. and optionally Mw., N. and P. In the latter it is made by adding some suffix to the root; viz. S. इज्, Mw. ईज् (see Kl. 214), N. इय्, P. ई. But P., Mw. and, probably, N. also use the comp. pass. The B. and O. do not use their past part. in इल् but that in अ in the formation of the pass. base, after the manner of the W. Gds. The E. H. and M. alone use the part. in अल् (or इल्) for the pass. (see § 303). Thus E. H. पढल् or पढिल् जाय् it may be said, M. पढिला (or पढला) जाए it was wont to be read (Man. 99); but B. पढा जाय् (S. Ch. 142), O. पढा जाये (Sn. 39), H. H. पढा जाए (or जावे), W. H. पढि जाए or पढ्यौ or पढ्यो जाए, P. पढिआ जावे (Ld. 60), G. पढ्यो जाय्; but S. पढिजे (Tr. 259. 331), Mw. पढीजै, N. पढिये, P. पढीए¹). The latter kind of pass. is occasionally preserved in H. and M.; thus

1) Thus in the 3. sg. fut. pass. Mw. पढीजैलो it will be read, N. पढियेला, P. पढीएगा.

in the H. H. respectful imperatives: कीजे (cf. S. कित्ताणु *to be done* Tr. 260), दीजे, पीजे, लीजे, सीजे, मूजे, हूजे lit. *let it be done, given, drunk, taken, sewn, died, been* (cf. Kl. 164, d); also H. H. करिये, पढिये, etc. *let it be done, read, etc.*, W. H. करीजे or करजे, पढीजे or पढजे, etc. (Kl. 212, a); again in the M. पाहिजे *it is wanted* (Man. 90). In O. E. H., O. W. H., O. P. and O. M. they are also often met with; in O. M. sometimes even in an active sense (Man. 139). Thus in O. E. H. (Tulsí Dás) करिय or करिये or करीजे *let it be done* (Kl. 220. 422), करियत *being done* (part. pres., cf. Kl. 220, a), O. P. करीअतु or करीअत; in O. M. करिजे *let it be done*, करिजेतो *it is being done*, करिजेला *it has been done*, करिजेल *it will be done* (Man. 139). Similarly in S. छडिजे *it may be given up*, छडिजेयो *it is being given up* (Tr. 301. 333).

481. *Derivation.* The origin of the modern comp. pass. can be distinctly traced. In Skr. the pass. is made by the suff. य. In Pr. this becomes ईअ or इज्ज (Vr. 7, 8. H. C. 3, 160), and in Gd. इय or ई or ईज्ज or अज्ज or इज्ज. Thus Skr. पठ्यते *it is read*, Pr. पढीअइ or पढिज्जइ, whence P. पढीए or N. पढिये or Mw. पढीजे or पढ्जै or S. पढिजे. Again Skr. क्रियते *it is done*, P. किज्जइ (H. C. 1, 97) or करिज्जइ (H. C. 4, 250) or करीअइ, whence H. H. कीजे, S. कित्ते, Mw. करीजे or करजे, O. M. करिजे, P. करीए, N. करिये. In O. H. and M. H. (Bs. or Br.) the pass. forms पढि जाय्, करि जाय् are used. This shows that the old forms पढिजै, करिजै began to be looked upon as compounds of the past part. पढि, करि (= Pr. पढिअ, करिअ, Skr. पठित, कृत, see § 302) and the verb जै (contracted for जाय्, Pr. जाइ, Skr. याति) *it goes*. This misunderstanding, being once established, naturally led to the further step of using the ordinary past part. (in अल and यो or छा) in conjunction with the verb जा *to go* to form the pass.; thus पढिजै became पढि जाय्, पढा or पढ्यो or पढल् जाय्. It is probable, however, that the old Skr. suff. य itself is a curtailment of the R. या (= Gd. जा) *to go*; so that the language has merely reverted to the point whence it started. It may also be observed, that there is a tendency in Pr. to shorten a final radical छा, which would facilitate the con-

fusion of the R. ग (= गा) with the suff. त्. Thus Pr. has गन्ति *they go* (H. C. 4, 388) for Skr. गन्ति; Pr. उत्थि *he rises* (H. C. 4, 17) from R. उत्था (= *उत्थाति); Pr. यथि *he raises* (H. C. 4, 357) = Skr. स्थापयति; Pr. दधि *he gives* (Wb. Spt. 59) from R. दा; etc.

482. Besides the comp. pass., made with गङ् (§ 479), E. H. possesses an other pass., the root of which is made by adding the suff. ञ् to the root of the act. verb. If the latter contains a long vowel, it is shortened, precisely as in the formation of the causal (see § 474). These pass. roots in ञ् are conjugated precisely as any other intrans. roots in ञ्. Thus act. R. पठ् *read*, pass. R. पठ्ण *be read*, inf. पठ्णङ् *to be read*, just like inf. गङ् *to go* of the intr. R. ग *go*; again act. R. घृम् *turn*, pass. R. घृम्ण *be turned*, inf. घृम्णङ् *to be turned*, etc. Though this pass. may be used in the same sense as the comp. pass., yet properly and generally it has a peculiar, viz. a potential, signification. Hence I shall call it the *potential passive*. Thus पठ्णाला means *it can be read*, while पठल् गाला means *it is read*.

Exception. The R. खा *eat* makes its pot. pass. R. खिया *be eaten*.

Note: As the pot. pass. may have the sense of the ordinary pass., so the comp. pass. may have that of the pot. pass. Thus पठल् गाला may mean *it can be read*, and पठ्णाला *it is read*.

483. *Affinities.* The pot. pass. also exists in M. and G. I think it probable that other Gds. also possess it, but it does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. In M. it is formed by means of the suff. ञ् or ञ्व, and in G. by the suff. ञ् or ञ्वा. The longer suff. ञ्व and ञ्वा are used with monosyllabic roots and roots ending in इ. Thus E. H. छोडाय् *it can be loosed*, G. छोडाय्, M. सोडवे; again E. H. कहाय् *it can be said*, G. केहेवाय्, M. कहववे. This pass. is called in the Man. 75 „the potential verb“ and in Ed. 54 „the first potential mood“, in Ed. 107 „the passive verb“ and in Ed. 51, d apparently „the deponent“. It is constructed in E. H. and G. with the instr. case of the agent, but in M. either with the act. (classically) or

the acc. (colloquially), see Man. 75, 128. note, where, however, the case is erroneously called the dative.

484. *Derivation.* A comparison of the suff. of the pot. pass. with those of the causals (§§ 474. 477) will at once show their identity. Thus the E. H. and G. pot. pass. suff. *आ* is identical with the B., O., H. H. and S. caus. suff. *आ*, and the G. pot. pass. suff. *आवा* with the H. H. double caus. suff. *आवा*; again the M. pass. pot. suff. *अव* and *अवव* are the same as the M. caus. suff. *अवि* and double caus. *अववि*, even as regards the shortening of the original *आ* of the suff. *आव* or *आवाव*. Again the pot. pass. suff. and the caus. suff. have precisely the same influence on the root; thus in E. H. the R. खा *eat* becomes खिया in the pass. and खियाव् in the caus. (see §§ 474, exc. 482, exc.). Lastly the longer pass. suff. *आवा* and *अवव* and the double caus. suff. *आवाव्* and *अववि* are used precisely in the same way; viz. they are added principally to monosyllabic roots. So far, then, there can be no question as to the identity of the forms of the pot. pass. and the two causals. But the sense and mode of construction of the pot. pass., also, prove that identity. In fact, it is merely a caus. with a peculiar reflexive sense. Thus E. H. caus. मै पोथी पढुलो might be translated: *I caused (some one) to read the book*, or briefly, *I caused the book to be read*. Similarly the E. H. पोथी पढायल् is either *the book caused (some one) to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read (by some one)*. It will be seen at once that, practically, this is the same as the pass. *the book was read*. It will also be noticed, that the agent who reads (*some one* or *by some one*) may be expressed either by the acc. or the act. case. Accordingly both cases may be used in M., मला (acc.) or माक्याने (act.) पोथी पढवली *by me the book was read*, lit. *the book caused me to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read by me*. In E. H. and G. the instr. only is employed; thus E. H. मो से पोथी पढायल् or G. मारा थी पोथी पढायी. This pass. is now commonly used in a potential sense, *by me the book could be read*; but that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb,

but only attached to it conventionally. For even the ordinary comp. pass. may take that meaning; thus मो से पोथी पढ़ल् गयल् *by me the book could be read*. On the other hand, the pot. pass. may have the ordinary pass. sense; see § 482, note.

4. MOODS.

485. *Infinitive*. The infinitive is made by adding the suff. अब् or इब्, obl. अबे or इबे or ऐ to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 308—310. Thus पढ़ब् *to read* of R. पढ़्; पढ़बे से or पढ़ै से *by reading*; again खाइब् or खाब् *to eat* of R. खा; खइबे or खैबे or खाबे or खाये से *by eating*, etc.

Note: For affinities and derivation, see §§ 313. 314.

486. *Adjective participles*. The pres. part. is made by adding the suff. अत् c. g., and the past part. by adding the suff. अल् or इल् c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 298. 299. 302. 303. Thus पढ़त् c. g. *reading*, पढ़ल् c. g. *read*; खात् c. g. *eating*, खाइल् or खायल् c. g. *eaten*, etc. The fut. part. is identical with the infinitive, see §§ 310. 485.

Note: For exceptions see § 304; and for affinities and derivation see §§ 300. 301. 305—307.

487. *Prayogas*. The past and fut. part. are used with a pass. sense in the pass. and the infin. respectively, but with an act. sense in the past and fut. tenses act. Thus E. H. मैं छोड़ल् जालोँ *I am loosed*, मैं छोड़ब् बाटोँ *I am to be loosed*, but घोरा के (or घोरा) मैं छोड़लोँ *I did loose the horse*, घोरा के मैं छोड़बोँ *I shall loose the horse*, or पोथी के (or पोथी) मैं पढ़लोँ *I did read the book*, प° के मैं पढ़बोँ *I shall read the book*. The latter usage (with the part. in the act. voice and the subj. in the nom. case and the obj. in the acc.) is what I have called (§ 371) the *pass.-act. construction*, or the कर्तरि प्रयोग् of the native grammarians. It is peculiar to all E. Gds. Thus the above sentences are in B.: आमि (or मुइ) छोड जाइ, but घोडा के (or घोडा) आमि छोडिलाम् and घ° के आ° छोडिब; पोथी के आमि पढिलाम् and घ° के आ° पढिब; in O. मुहि छोड जाइ, but घोडा कु मुहि छोडिलि (or अम्मे छोडिलुँ) and घ° कु म° छोडिबि

(or ^० होडिआ); पोथी कु मुहि पठलि and ^० कु म^० पठिअि. On the other hand, the W. and S. Gds. always use these participles in the pass. sense, and, in consequence, where they are employed to express the pret. ind. and pres. conj. (see § 509, 3) tenses act., they take the subj. in the act. case and the obj. in the nom., and agree with the latter in number and gender. This usage I call the *pass. constr.*; and it is the कर्मनि प्रयोग् of the nat. gramm. Thus M. मी सोडिला ज्ञातो^० *I am loosed*, but घोडा मी^० सडिला *I did loose the horse* (lit. *the horse was loosed by me*) or पोथी मी^० वाचिली *I did read the book* (lit. *the book was read by me*), घोडा मी^० सोडावा *I may loose the horse* (lit. *the horse may be loosed by me*), or ^० मी^० वाचावी *I may read the book* (lit. *the book may be read by me*). The same in W. H. हौ^० छोड्यौ ज्ञावो^०, but घोडा मै^० ने छोड्यो, पोथी मै^० ने बाँची; or in S. चाँडं छडिबो चाँहियाँ^१), but घोडे मूँ छडिओ, पोथी मूँ पठिओ; or in H. H. मै^० छोडा ज्ञाता हूँ, but घोडा मै^० ने छोडा, पोथी मै^० ने पढी. There are, however, a few verbs in M., which take the E. Gd. *pass.-act. constr.*; as पढपो^० to read, पावपो^० to obtain, पिपो^० to drink, बोलपो^० to speak, लेपो^० to take and others (see Man. 32); thus मी पोथी पढलो^० *I did read the book*, not मी^० पोथी पढली. — There is a third kind of constr. which is also confined to the W. and S. Gds. It is likewise a *pass. constr.*, but differs from the ordinary one, by having the obj. in the acc. case, and the part. in the nom. sing. masc. or neut. It is, in fact, a sort of impersonal *pass. constr.*, and is called by nat. gramm. the भावो प्रयोग्. Thus in this constr. the above sentences would be: M. घोड्या ला मी^० सोडिले^० lit. *as to the horse, it was loosed by me*, पोथी ला मी^० वाचिले^० lit. *as to the book, it was read by me*; W. H. (Br.) घोडा कौ^० मै^० ने छोड्यौ, पोथी कौ^० मै^० ने बाँच्यौ; S. घोडे ले मूँ छडिओ, पोथि ले मूँ पठिओ. — Lastly there is a fourth constr., which, I believe to be confined to the N. Gd. (N.). It is *pass.-act.*, but differs from

1) Here, the part. छडिबो is in the pass. voice, but in the pres., instead of the fut. tense, see § 313; but S. has also the old pass. चाँडं छडिजो यो, see § 480.

that common in E. Gd. by having the subj. in the act. case, with which, however, the verb (i. e. past part.) agrees in number and gender. Thus the same sentences in N. are: घोड़ो मैँ ले छोड़ियो lit. *as to me, I loosed the horse*, पोथी मैँ ले पढ़ियो lit. *as to me, I read the book*; or with a fem. subj. घोड़ी स्त्री ले छोड़ी lit. *as to the woman, she loosed the horse*.

488. *Adverbial participle*. This part. is the same as the obl. of the strong form of the adj. part., and ends, according to the tense (see § 486), in अते, अले (or इले), अबे (or इबे). The pres. adv. part. commonly takes the emphatic particle ई, which coalesces with its termination to अतै. In order to distinguish more clearly the resp. time, some noun or case-affix is often added; thus समै *time* after अते, से *from* after अले, के *to* or बटे *for* after अबे. Thus पढ़ते or पढ़तै or पढ़ते समै *on reading* or *during the time of reading*; पढ़ले or पढ़ले से *after reading* or *on condition of reading*; पढ़बे or पढ़बे के or पढ़बे बटे *for reading* or *for the purpose of reading* or *on the point of reading*.

Note: The pres. adv. part., as a rule, expresses *coincidence*; the past, *precedence* or *condition*; the fut., *imminence* or *object*. The distinction between the pres. and past, however, is not very strictly observed. — The past adv. part. and the conj. part. may be interchanged, as पोथी पढ़ि आयल् or पोथी पढ़ले से आयल् *he came, having read* or *from reading the book*. — Instead of होते *on being* संते is sometimes used.

489. *Affinities*. These adv. part., as a rule, exist in all Gds., and are used in the same manner, as in E. H. Their termin. are: in B. इते, इले (S. Ch. 148. 184. 185), O. अते, इले (Sn. 28), M. अतँ (or emph. अतँना, Man. 63. 64), H. H. अते (emph. अते ही), ए, अने (Kl. 311, 2. 3. 309, d. e), P. अदे, ए (Ld. 79, 146. 78. 139), S. अदे, ए (Tr. 485. 487). See S. Ch., Kl. and Tr. for syntactical observations and examples. They apply equally to E. H.

490. *Conjunctive participle*. This part. is made by adding the suff. ऐ or इ to the root of the verb. It is, however, usually changed to यू, after a vowel, and dropped after a con-

sonant. In order to emphasise the part. the aff. के is commonly superadded. Thus पढे or पठि or पढ़ or पढे के or पठि के or पढ़ के *having read* from R. पठ्; खाइ or खाय् or खाइ के or खाय् के *having eaten*; होय् के etc. *having been* from Rs. खा, हो. The simple conj. part. without के is especially used in the formation of compound verbs (see § 537), as कहे देब् or कह् देब् *to inform*, खाय् लेब् *to eat up*, आय् जाइब् *to come on*, etc.

491. *Affinities and Derivation.* The suff. of the conj. part. in Skr. are य or त्वा. The former is used for comp., the latter for simple roots; but in the Ved. Skr. य may be used for either kind. In Pr. (both in Sr. and Mg., H. C. 4, 271. 302) they become इञ्च and उण respectively. Both are preserved in Gd.; so, however, that इञ्च is common to the E., W. and N. Gd., while उण is confined to S. Gd. and, optionally, E. R. Thus B. has इया (S. Ch. 148), O. इ (Sn. 28), E. H. ऐ or इ or *quiescent*, W. H. इ or *quiescent* (Kl. 202, 378. 209, 394), P. इ or *quiescent* (Ld. 79), G. ई (Ed. 113), S. ई or ए (Tr. 280. 281), N. ई; but M. उन्, E. R. उने (Kl. 209, 394). Thus Skr. कृत्वा (or कर्त्य) *having done*, Pr. Sr. करिञ्च (H. C. 4, 272), E. H. करे or करि or कर, N. गरी, etc., or Pr. करिउण, M. करल्न्, E. R. करल्ने. Or Skr. प्राप्य *having obtained*, Pr. पाविञ्च, E. H. पाइ or पाय्, N. पाई, etc., or Pr. पाविउण, M. पावून्, E. R. पावूने. I know no satisfactory explanation of the final ए of the E. R. form उने. Similar are the O. M. forms चोनि or चोनियाँ (also उनि or उनियाँ, see Man. 138. 139, as करोनियाँ or करोनि *having done*), and the Mg. Pr. form दाणि (Vr. 11, 16, as करिदाणि; also Md. 12, 17) ¹). Analogous to the latter, there might have been a Pr. form *दूणि, from which rather than from the Mg. दाणि the modern M. and E. R. forms appear to be derived. Both Pr. forms दाणि and दूण (or उण) are modifications of the Ved. Skr. and Pāli त्वानं, a by-form of the ordinary Skr. त्वा (see Wb. Bh. 435), which occurs in the

1) Md's sūtra seems to be, क्लो दाणिञ्च स्यात् । पुश्चिदाणि । पत्ते पुश्चिञ्च ॥ i. e., *having asked*; but both H. C. 4, 272. 302 and T. V. 3, 2. 10. 27 omit दाणि and replace it by दूण.

Pr. of the Bh. as त्राणं, just as Skr. त्वा becomes in Pr. त्रा (Wb. Bh. 435) or दुश्च (H. C. 4, 272). If त्वानम् be (with Ls. 289) the acc. sg. of a base त्वान (or त्वन्), the Pr. दाणि or Gd. ओनि, उने might be a loc. sg. for *त्राणे or *तूणे (cf. H. C. 3, 56); and the Gd. ओनियौ might be an emphatic form of the same¹). — Of the Pr. form दुश्च (as in कदुश्च *having done*, गदुश्च *having gone*, H. C. 4, 271) no traces, I believe, have survived in Gd. — The aff. के is itself a contraction of the E. H. conj. part. क्य् *having done* of R. कर. It also occurs in P. के (Ld. 24, 79), in Br. के or कै or कर or करि (Kl. 202); in E. R. it is curtailed to र (for कर); e. g., मार-र *having beaten* for मार-कर; खा-र *having eaten* for खा-कर (Kl. 209, 394). Mw. has the aff. ने for के; e. g., कर-ने *having done* = Br. कर-के (Kl. 209, 394). The two aff. are related to each other precisely as the G. gen. aff. नो is to the W. H. को or कौ (see § 377). In H. H. the aff. is reduplicated, कर-के; e. g., मार-कर-के *having beaten*; similarly E. R. reduplicates कने (Kl. 209, 394) and N. कन् (shortened for के-ने); e. g., N. गरीकन् *having done*, खाई-कन् *having eaten*, वसी-कन् *having sat*, etc.

492. *Nouns of agency.* This is made by adding the suff. अनिहार c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 315. 316. 318. Thus पठनिहार *a reader* from R. पठ्; खानिहार *eater* from R. खा, etc. According to circumstances, these nouns may have the sense of a pres. part. or a fut. part.; thus पठनिहार may mean *one who is reading* or *one who is going to read*.

Note 1: The masc. strong form in अनिहारा is also used occasionally; likewise the W. H. suff. अनेवारा (for अनेवाला), fem. ०री; but the fem. strong form in अनिहारी only forms nouns, expressing an act; thus पठनेहारा *a (male) reader*, but पठनेहारी the act. of *reading* (not *female reader*), see § 319.

Note 2: For affinities and derivation see §§ 320. 321.

1) Ls. 400 supposes दाणि to have lost a final anuswára (for *दाणिं) and to have changed the अ of *दाणिं = त्राणिं to इ.

SECOND CHAPTER. TENSES.

493. There are three tenses, the present, past and future, each of which may be either simple or periphrastic (see § 510). The indicative mood possesses all three; the conjunctive has only two, the pres. and past; the imperative has only one, the present. Every tense possesses two numbers, sing. and plur.; and three persons, first, second and third; and also, though with the exception of the pres. conj. and imper., two genders, masc. and fem.

494. Some of the tenses are formed from the root of the verb, others from the participles. From the root are formed the three pres. tenses of the ind., conj. and imp.; from the part., the past and future tenses, viz. the first and second preterite ind., the past conj. and the fut. ind. Tenses made from the root will be called *radical*; those made from the part., *participial*. A third class, made by adding an auxiliary verb to a participle, I shall call *periphrastic*.

1. RADICAL TENSES.

495. *Present conjunctive and imperative.* These are identical in every respect, and are made by adding to the root the subjoined suff., according to the number and person (but not gender) of the subj. In the 2. sing. the suff. may optionally be omitted. After roots in अ the forms of the suff. are slightly modified by coalescence with that letter.

	Sing.	Plur.		Sing.	Plur.
1. pers.	ओ	ई		आवँ	आई
2. pers.	उ or quiesc. अ	अह् or अ	after Rs. in अ	ओ or आ	आह् or आ
3. pers.	ऐ	ऐ		आय्	आयँ

Note 1: The pres. conj. is occasionally used in the sense of the fut. indic.

Note 2: The 2. pl. ends throughout the conjugation either in अह् *ah* or अ *a*. The latter (अ), being the resultant of the drop-

ping of the final ह् of अह्, is always *sounded* (see § 24, exc.). It is important to observe this circumstance, as, in the future tense, it forms the only difference between the 1. pl. and the 2. pl., and affects the vowel combination. Thus पढब् *parhab* we shall read, but पढब *parhaba* you will read; खाब् *kháb* we shall eat, but खाब *khába* you will eat, or खाइब् *kháib* we shall eat, but खाइब *khaiba* or खैब *khaiba* you will eat (see § 508). So पढ *parha* read you, but पढ् *parh* read thou. Again पढैल *parhaila* you read, not पढैल् *parhail* (see § 500). — In Kellogg's Hindi Grammar (p. 201. 233—241) the forms of the 2. pl. are given, by mistake, as forms of the 2. sg. Colloquially the plur. is commonly used in the place of the sing. This practice, probably, has been the cause of the misapprehension.

496. *Affinities.* The E. H., I believe, is the only Gd. language, in which the pres. of the conj. and of the imper. are completely identical. In W. Gd. the two tenses are also alike, with the exception of the 2. sg. But in S. Gd., N. Gd. and E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) the differences are more numerous; viz. 2. and 3. sg. differ in B., 2. and 3. sg. and pl. in N., and 1., 2. and 3. sg. and 2. and 3. pl. in M. — The tense, which is *now* the pres. conj. in E. H., exists in all Gds., but in some of them it has slightly modified its original meaning. It was originally the same as the Skr. and Pr. pres. indic.; and this sense it has preserved in M., though it is now used only in a special case, viz. as a *historical present* or what practically amounts to a *habitual past* (see Man. 59, 3, e. g., तो बहेरू निघे *he sallies forth = he used to sally forth*); but in O. M. it is employed for the ordinary pres. indic. (Man. 138). Again in B., O. and G. it is both a pres. indic. and a pres. conj. (see S. Ch. 136. 142. Sn. 27. 32. Ed. 54). On the other hand, in E. H., W. H., P., S. and N. it is only a pres. conj. (see Tr. 284—287. Ld. 23, 74. 53)¹). As a natural

1) Even in these languages it may still be heard occasionally as a pres. ind., e. g., E. H. गुरु तोह् के बोलावै *the teacher calls you*; see also Tr. 287, note and Kl. 206. 212, 402. a; and in O. H. it is still the ordinary

consequence the W. and N. Gd. and E. H. form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old pres. some auxiliary verb (see §§ 500. 501). On the other hand, M. employs, for the purpose of expressing the pres. conj., the part. fut. (called *supine* in Man. 62, see §§ 313. 509, 3), ending in the sing. in आवा m., आवी f., आवेⁿ n., in the pl. आवे m., आव्या f., आवीⁿ n. G. may do the same; there the termin. are अवा m., अवी f., अवुⁿ n. (called *second pres. of the second pot.* in Ed. 54, see § 509, 3)¹). — In all W. Gds. the pres. conj. (i. e., the old pres. ind.) may be used as a future. Such was the case in O. M. also (Man. 59, 3. note); but it is not so in modern M. In O. M. it was also used in the sense of the *habitual past* (Man. 59, 3. note), as it is in modern M. (see above); but of this usage there are traces even in Pr.; see Wb. Spt. 63; e. g., तद्वा पा रमसि *thou wast not wont to enjoy* (Spt. 91), or तद्वा पा पोसि *thou wast not wont to direct* (Spt. A, 38). — The following table shows the various Gd. termin. of this tense:

Present conjunctive or old pres. indic.

	M.	N.	B.	. O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.	P.	G.	S.
1.	ए ³	उ, ए	इ	इ, अइ	ओ	ऊ	ओ	ऊ, उ	आ	उ	आ
2.	अस, एस् ¹	इस्, ए ¹	इस् ¹	उ ¹	उ, अq.	ए ¹	ऐ ¹	ए ¹	ऐ ¹	ए ¹	ऐ, ई ²
3.	ए ⁴	ए ¹⁰	ए ⁷	अइ, ए ⁷	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ए	ए	ए	ए
4.	ऊ	ओ, ए	इ	ऊ, इ	ई	ऐ	ऐ	आ	ये	ये	ऊ
5.	आ ⁵	ओ, ए	अ	अ	अह, अ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ
6.	अत् ⁶	अन्, ए ⁸	एन् ⁸	अन्ति ⁹	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ	अपा	ए	अनि

In the pres. imper.: 1) अ quiesc.; 2) इ or उ; 3) ऊ; 4) ओ or उ; 5) आ; 6) ओत् or उत्; 7) उ (or B. उक); 8) उन्; 9) अन्तु or अन्त; 10) ओस्.

pres. ind. (Kl. 221, 224). — In the various Gd. grammars this tense is called by a great variety of names; thus *second potential* or *optative* by Ed. 54, *potential* by Tr. 284, *indefinite future* of the pot. mood by Ld. 53, *contingent future* by Kl. 158. 163, *prospective conditional* by Eth. 73; but *pres. subjunctive* by S. Ch. 186. Sn. 32.

1) With trans. verbs the karmani prayoga must be used (see § 487), because this part. is properly pass.; but with intrans. verbs the kartari prayoga; in the latter case, M. adds in the 2. pers. the suff. स् sg. and त् pl., but the first and third pers. are alike. Thus M. तू सुटावास् *thou*

497. *Derivation.* 1) The Gd. pres. conj. and pres. imp. are the same as the Skr. pres. indic. and pres. imp. respectively. But in the same measure as the Skr. pres. indic. assumed a conj. sense in Gd., it also became capable of doing duty for the pres. imp. and was, consequently, confounded with it; but so, that, as a rule, the pres. conj. superseded the pres. imper., while in the 2. pers. the imp. took the place of the conj. It will be observed that M., in which the pres. indic. has fully preserved its original indic. sense, possesses both tenses (pres. ind. and pres. imp.) in a complete form, and in B. and O., where its indic. sense is predominant, the greater part of the two senses is preserved; while in W. Gd. and E. H., where its sense is almost exclusively conj., the amalgamation of the two tenses is more or less complete. This amalgamation had already begun in Pr.¹). Thus in the Ap. Pr. the suff. of the 1. sg. उं, 2. sg. हि and, possibly, 2. pl. हु of the imper. are optionally, though commonly, substituted for the suff. मि of the 1. sg., सि 2. sg. and ह 2. pl. pres. indic. (H. C. 4, 383. 384. 385; e. g., Ap. कटुं or कटुमि *I cut* = Skr. कर्तव्यामि, E. H. काटोँ or कटोँ; Ap. रुअहि or रुअसि *thou weapest* = ved. Skr. रुदसि; Ap. इच्छहु or इच्छह *you wish* = Skr. इच्छथ). On the other hand, even in the Mh. Pr. the suff. मो and ह of the 1st and 2nd pl. pres. ind. are also used for the imper. and conj. (H. C. 3, 176; e. g., M. हसह *you laugh* or *you may laugh* = Skr. हसथ or हसत or हसेत; Mh. हसामो *we laugh* or *we may laugh* = Skr. हसामः or हसाम or हसेम). — 2) *Pres. conj.* (= old pres. ind.): a) The termin. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अमि, Pr. अमि or अमि (H. C. 3, 141. 154. Vr. 7, 3. 30), Ap. Pr. अमि or अउं (H. C. 4, 385).

mayest get loose, but त्वाँ घोडा सोडावा *thou mayest loose the horse* (lit. *by thee the horse may be loosed*); again मी or तो सुटावा *I or he may get loose*.

1) Analogous is the occasional use in Pr. of the pres. ind. as a (pret.) conj., of which Wb. Spt. 62. 82 gives a few examples; thus Spt. 326 तद् पा होंति *if they were not* (= Skr. यदि न भवन्ति). The Gds. do not use the old pres. ind. in this manner, but express the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. (see §§ 506. 507); thus E. H. जो न होतैँ.

The former is preserved in the O. अइ, M. एँ, B. इ; e. g., Skr. पठामि *I read*, Pr. पठामि or पठमि, O. पठइँ, M. पठेँ, B. and O. पठि. The latter becomes in O. H. अउँ, Br. औँ, E. H. ओँ, H. H. उँ, Mw. उँ or उँ, G. उँ, N. उ; thus Ap. Pr. पठउं *I read*, O. H. पठउँ, Br. पठौँ, E. H. पठोँ, H. H. and Mw. पठूँ, G. पठुँ, N. पठु. The S. and P. औँ, as पठौँ, must be a modification either of अउँ = ओँ or अइँ = एँ. The Psh. and Pers. have अम्. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. असि, Pr. असि (H. C. 3, 140. Vr. 7, 2), Ap. Pr. असि or अहि (H. C. 4, 384). The former is preserved in the O. H. असि or (by transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, see § 148, note) ऐस, M. अस् or एस्, B. and N. (by shortening of ए) इस्; thus Skr. पठसि *thou readest*, Pr. पठसि, O. H. पठसि or पठेस्, M. पठस् or पठेस्, B. and N. पठिस्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहि (still used in Br., see Kl. 202, 380) or अइ, W. H. ऐ, H. H. and G. ए; also P. एँ and S. एँ or ईँ, but with an anomalous anunásika; thus Ap. Pr. पठहि, O. H. पठहि or पठइ, W. H. पठै, H. H. and G. पठे, P. पठेँ, S. पठेँ or पठौँ. The Psh. has ए and Pers. ई. As to the E. H. and O. उ, O. H. उ or सु (Kl. 218, e. f), see Nro. 3, h. — c) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अति, Pr. अइ (H. C. 3, 139. Vr. 7, 1), which is preserved in the O. H. अइ (also अहि with anomalous ह्), O. अइ, but generally contracted to ऐ in E. H. and W. H. or ए in the rest; thus Skr. पठति *he reads*, Pr. पठइ, O. H. पठइ, O. पठइ or पठे, E. H. and W. H. पठै, B., M., N., H. H., G., P., S. पठे. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. अद्. — d) The term. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. आमः, in Pr. आमो or आमु or आम or अमो or अमु or अम (H. C. 3, 144. 155. Vr. 7, 4. 31) or इमो or इमु or इम (H. C. 3, 155. Vr. 7, 31), Ap. Pr. इमु etc. or अहुँ (H. C. 4, 386). The form अहुँ, probably, contains an euph. ह् for अउं for Pr. अमु (see § 127, note), perhaps to distinguish it from the 1. sg. अउं (for Pr. 1. sg. imper. अमु, see Nro. 3, g) and to assimilate it to the 1. pl. अहिं¹). It becomes in N. औँ, M. and

1) Compare also the O. H. 3. sg. अहि beside अइ (Nro. 2, c). — Cw. XXIX and Ls. 335 give optional 1. pl. termin. अम्हो, अम्ह (e. g., हसम्हो, हसम्ह *we laugh*). These, if correct, would account for the ह् in the Ap. अहुँ; but I know no authority for them; H. C. 3, 147. Vr. 7, 7 give only म्हो,

S. ऊँ, O. उँ or उ; thus Skr. पठामः *we read*, Pr. पठामो or पठामु or पठमु, Ap. Pr. पठहुं, N. पठोँ, M. and S. पठूँ, O. पठूँ or पठु. The Pr. form इम् or इम contracts in E. H. to ईँ (see § 127), B. and O. (shortened) इ; thus Pr. पठिमु or पठिम, E. H. पठोँ. The intermediate form would be *इम्रँ, which may either contract to ईँ (like M. पाणीँ *water*, for Pr. पाणिम्रँ, § 83, exc.) or drop final म्र (like E. H. करि *having done*, for Pr. करिम्रँ, § 491); hence E. H. पठोँ, O. पठि. But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to म्रइँ and modified to म्रहिँ, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. म्रहिं. Both म्रइँ and म्रहिँ occur in O. H. and are contracted to ऐँ in Br. and ऐँ in H. H.; thus O. H. पठइँ or पठहिँ, Br. पठैँ, H. H. पठैँ. In the strange G. and S. form ये, there seems to be a reminiscence of the original intermediate form *इम्रँ; thus G. and S. पठये, perhaps for *पठिम्रँ or *पठिम्रइँ. The Mw. म्रँ is a modification of the N. म्रौँ or the Br. ऐँ, similarly as in the case of the P. and S. 1. sg. म्रँ (see Nro. 3, a). The Psh. has ऊ, the Pers. ईम्. — e) The term. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. म्रय, in Pr. म्रह (H. C. 3, 143. Vr. 7, 4) or म्रहं (with euph. anusvára, see H. C. 1, 27. Ls. 336), in Ap. Pr. म्रह or म्रहु (H. C. 4, 384). The former is only preserved in E. H. म्रह् or म्र, B. and O. म्र, and M. म्रँ (for म्रहं); thus Skr. पठय *you read*, Pr. पठह or पठहं, E. H. पठह्, B. and O. पठ, M. पठँ. The latter, I am inclined to explain as identical with the Skr. म्रयः of the 2. dual; it would regularly become in Pr. *म्रहो or म्रहु¹). In O. H. it becomes म्रहु or म्रउ, in Br. and N. म्रौ, in the rest म्रो; thus Ap. Pr. पठहु, O. H. पठहु or पठउ, Br. and N. पठौ, E. H., H. H., Mw., P., G., S. पठो. The Psh. has म्रइँ, the Pers. ईद्; the latter is represented by the Pr. इत्य (H. C. 3, 143 as हसित्य *you laugh*) which, however, has left no trace in Gd. — f) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. म्रन्ति, in Pr. म्रन्ति (H. C. 3, 142. Vr. 7, 4), in Ap. Pr. म्रन्ति or म्रहिं (H. C.

म्रह् for the Skr. स्मः *we are*, where म्रह् is perfectly regular for स्म् by H. C. 2, 74. Vr. 3, 32.

1) Just as 1. pl. Pr. म्रामो or म्रामु for Skr. म्रामः; see also Nro. 3, 1; Ls. 468 identifies it with the Skr. ध्वम् of the átman. 2. pl. imper., but this would have changed to Pr. म्रं, as felt by himself, p. 336.

4, 382). The former is only preserved in O. अंति and M. अत् (see § 146, note); thus Skr. पठन्ति *they read*, Pr. पठन्ति, O. पठन्ति, M. पठन्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहिँ or अइँ, E. H. and Br. ऐँ, H. H. एँ, also Mw. ऐ and G. ए with loss of *anunásika*; thus Ap. Pr. पठहिँ, O. H. पठहिँ or पठइँ, E. H. and Br. पठेँ, H. H. पठेँ, Mw. पठे, G. पठे. The origin of the Ap. form अहिँ is disclosed by the O. H. termin. अन्हि or एन्हि (for *इअन्हि) of the pret. tense (see § 503). It appears that अंति was changed to अंदि, then to अन्ति and finally to अन्हि (see § 161). The O. H. अन्हि is preserved in the S. अन्ति, B. एन् (with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), P. अण्, N. अन्. Thus S. पठन्ति, B. पठेन्, P. पठण्, N. पठन्. The Psh. has इँ and the Pers. अन्द (softened for अन्त्). — 3) *Pres. imper.*: g) The term. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अन्ति, which, however, is a peculiar suff. and does not exist in Pr. The latter has the regular suff. अम् or अम् (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18); in the Ap. Pr. it becomes अत् (see § 127)¹) and becomes a suff. of the pres. conj. (or indic., H. C. 4, 385, see § 497, 2, a). In M. it contracts to ऊँ, but remains a suff. of the 1. sg. imper.; while in E. H. it contracts to ओँ and passes to the pres. conj., and so in all W. Gds. and in N. Gd. On the other hand, B. and O. have lost it, and use the suff. इ of the pres. conj. instead. Thus (Skr. पठान्ति), Pr. पठाम् or पठम् *let me read*, Ap. Pr. पठत् *I may read or I read*, M. पठूँ *let me read*, E. H. पठोँ *I may read or I read*, etc. — h) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. अहि (suff. हि) or अ; Pr. has preserved the regular termin. असु besides अहि and अ (H. C. 3, 173. 174. 175. Vr. 7, 18), and the Ap. Pr. has, besides अहि, also ए or इ or उ (H. C. 4, 387. K. I. 62 in Ls. 453). The term. असु must have existed in the Ap. Pr.; for it is still found occasionally in O. H., both in the sense of the imper. and the pres. conj. (see Kl. 218, f. 220, 1). Similarly the term. अहि is used also for the pres. indic. in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 383) and for the pres. conj. in W. Gd. (see

1) I prefer this explanation of the origin of the Ap. term. अत् to that previously given in § 122, note.

§ 497, 2, b), but in the O. H. is still occurs both for the imper. and the pres. conj. (Kl. 204). The Ap. termin. ए is a contraction of अय (of the Xth class or causal imper.) and represents the Skr. and Pr. term. अ , while the Ap. term. इ is a curtailment of ए , and the term. उ perhaps a corruption of the अ . This is clearly shown by the S., which has preserved both इ and उ , and uses the former for trans. verbs (which correspond to the old caus. and Xth class verbs, see §§ 472. 473), while it adds the latter to intrans. verbs (Tr. 251). The term. उ is preserved also in O. H. (see Kl. 218, e. 220, 1), E. H. and O., but has assumed also the sense of the pres. conj.; while throughout Gd. (exc. S. and optionally O. H. and E. H.) it becomes *quiescent* (i. e. अ qu.) when used in its proper sense of the imper. Thus Pr. पठसु *read thou*, but O. H. पठसु *read thou* or *thou mayest read*; or Pr. पठहि *read thou*, Ap. Pr. पठहि *read thou* or *thou readest*, O. H. पठहि *read thou* or *thou mayest read* or *thou readest*; or Skr. पठ *read thou*, Pr. पठ , Ap. पठु , O. H. and E. H. पठु *read thou* and *thou mayest read*, O. पठु *thou mayest read*, E. H. पठु *read thou* or *thou mayest read*, all other Gds. (exc. S.) पठु *read thou*. Again Pr. पठे (cf. H. C. 3, 158) *read thou*, Ap. पठे or पठि , S. पठि . — i) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अतु , in Pr. अउ (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18) and becomes in M. ओ or उ , O. उ , B. उ-क् , N. ओ-स् (or after vowels व-स्). The additions, क् in B. and स् in N., are pleon. suff. of obscure meaning and origin; perhaps they are enclitic pronouns, viz. indef. के or 3. pers. से (see § 503). Thus पठतु *let him read*, Pr. पठउ , M. पठो or पठू , O. पठु , B. पठुक् , N. पठोस् (or जावस् *let him go*). — k) The termin. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. आम ; but Pr. substitutes the termin. आमो or अमो (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) or अमु and Ap. Pr. अहुं (K. I. 64, in Ls. 453) of the pres. indic. The same is also done in all Gds.; thus (Skr. पठाम), Pr. पठमो or पठमु *let us read*, Ap. पठहुं , N. पठौ , M. पठू , etc., see § 497, 2, d. — l) The termin. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अत ; but Pr. substitutes the termin. अह (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) of the pres. indic. The Ap. Pr. has अउ (K. I. 63, in Ls. 453) which is

the same as ऋ of the pres. indic. (see § 497, 2, e), but has dropped ह¹). It occurs also in all W. Gds., and after vowels in N.; while the Pr. ह is preserved in the E. Gds. and M., and also, after consonants, in N. Thus (Skr. पठत), Pr. पठह *read you*, E. H. पठह् or पठ (*parha*), B., O. and N. पठ, M. पठा (for *पठअ = पठह); but Ap. पठउ, Br. पठौ, Mw., G., P., S. पठो, in fact identical with the 2. pl. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2, e). — m) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्तु, Pr. अंतु (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20), it is preserved in the O. अंतु or उत (by transfer of उ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), M. ओत् or उत, B. and N. उन्. Thus Skr. पठन्तु *let them read*, Pr. पठंतु, O. पठंतु or पठुत, M. पठोत् or पठूत्, B. and N. पठुन्. The change of उत to उन् is analogous to that of अत to अन् (see § 497, 2, f). The other Gds. substitute the 3. pl. of the pres. conj. — 4) As regards the contracted E. H. terminations, they will be understood from the following examples: Skr. खादति *he eats*, Pr. खाअइ or खाइ (H. C. 4, 228), E. H. खाय्; Skr. खादामि *I eat*, Pr. खाअमि or खामि, Ap. Pr. खाउं, E. H. खाव्, etc.

Note: It may be observed, that B. uses the termin. of the 3. pl. for the 2. pl. in respectful address: thus pres. B. पठेन् *you read* (lit. *they read*), pret. पठिलेन् *you read* or पठियाहेन् *you have read*, पठियाहिलेन् *you had read*, fut. पठिषेन् *you will read*, etc. In M. this is always done in the 2. pl. of the pres. conj. (see § 509, 3), the termin. of which अवेत् m., अव्यात् f., आवीत् n. really belong to the 3. pl. See also § 501, footnote on p. 342.

498. The pres. imper. may optionally add the following suff. in the 2. person.; viz., sing. इहे and plur. इह; e. g., पठिहे *read thou*, पठिह *read you*. This is a respectful form of the imper., implying request or prayer rather than command, and may be called a *precativ*e. Sometimes it is used in the sense of a simple future.

499. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the corresponding suff. of the old Skr. and Pr. future. The use of the fut. to express the imper. is easily intelligible.

1) Ls. reads उ, which is probably a false reading for उ or हु.

The corresponding Skr. termin. are: sg. इष्यसि, pl. इष्यथ, in the Ap. Pr. sg. इहहि and pl. इहह or इहहु, in E. H. sg. इहे (for *इहइ = इहह), pl. इह (for *इहह); in O. S., and occasionally M. S., pl. इहो (for *इहउ); e. g., कलिहो *seize ye* (Tr. 266). — The corresponding suff. in W. H. are: sg. इये and pl. इयो; that is, the medial ह् is elided, and the hiatus filled up by the connecting semivowel य्. P. has sg. ई, pl. ईओ (Ld. 44); B. has pl. इओ (S. Ch. 147); and S. has sg. इति or एति or इता or इताइ, pl. इतो or एतो or इताउ or इताह (Tr. 266. 267); G. sg. अते, pl. अतो; Mw. sg. अतै or ईतै or अत्ये, pl. अतो or ईतो or अत्यो (Kl. 211. 212); Br. sg. इयै or इय्यै or ईयै or इतै or ईतै, pl. इयौ or इय्यौ or ईयौ or इतो or ईतो (Kl. 204). I am inclined to think, that the W. Gd. forms are really passive, but used actively. Thus (Skr. पश्यसे), Ap. Pr. पञ्चीअहि or पञ्छिअहि or पञ्छेअहि (H. C. 3, 175), Br. पञ्चीयै or पञ्छियै, P. पञ्ची, or Mw. पञ्चीतै, S. पञ्छितै or पञ्छेतै, G. पञ्छेतै; plur. (Skr. पश्यध्वे), A. Pr. पञ्चीअहु or पञ्छिअहु, Br. पञ्चीयौ, P. पञ्चीओ, Mw. पञ्चीतो, S. पञ्छितो or पञ्छेतो. The increment इञ्ज or इञ्जा or एञ्ज or एञ्जा is found also in Pr. All verbs in Pr. may use it in the 2. pers. of the imper. (H. C. 3, 175), while the verb हो (Skr. भू) *to be* and others ending in a vowel (H. C. 3, 178. K. I. 315, in Ls. 357) may adopt it in any tense. This shows, I think, that these forms cannot well be identified with the single Skr. precative (or benedictive) tense (as Ls. 357)¹, but constitute a regularly conjugated passive verb which, however, has assumed an active sense (see § 348). Thus *pres. tense*, Pr. होइ or होञ्जइ *he is* (H. C. 3, 178) = Skr. भवति or (pass.) भूयते. There is also a longer form होञ्जाइ, where the tendency of the pass. suff. य् to revert to its original radical state या (which is fully developed in the Gd. pass., see § 481) already shows itself; for Pr. होञ्जाइ is, as it were, a compound of भू + याति lit. *he is going to be*; compare the real H. H. compound हो जाए *he becomes*, E. H. होय् जाय्. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. होउ or होञ्जउ *let him be* = Skr. भवतु or

1) It is probable, however, that the Skr. pass. and prec. are formed on the same principle, by compounding the auxil. verb या *to go* with the root; e. g., 3. sg. भूयात् *may he be* = R. भू and 2nd aorist यात्.

(pass.) भूयताँ (lit. *भूयतु, for the Pr. prefers the parasm. suff., see Ls. 333); also Pr. होज्जाउ (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + यातु. Again in the *fut.*, Pr. होहिसि or होज्जहिसि *thou wilt be* = Skr. भविष्यसि or (pass.) भविष्यसे (lit. *भूयस्यसे, for Pr. incorporates the pass. suff. य, see § 346); also Pr. होज्जाहिसि (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + यास्यसि. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. हससु or हसेज्जसु *laugh thou* (H. C. 3, 175) = Skr. हस or (pass.) हस्यस्व; also Pr. हसेज्जहि or contr. हसेज्जे (H. C. 3, 175), whence S. हसेज्जि or हसिज्जि. S. has also a longer form हसेज्जाइ or हसिज्जाइ lit. = *हस् + याहि. Similarly S. pl. हसेज्जे or हसिज्जे *laugh ye* presuppose a Ap. Pr. (not mentioned by H. C.) हसेज्जहु. In Pr. all the personal suff. may be dropped; and that, in all tenses alike; thus leaving the mere increment इज्ज or एज्ज as a universal termination; and this curtailed form may be used with all roots, whether ending in a vowel or consonant; thus Pr. होज्ज or होज्जा may mean: *he is* or *he may be* or *let him be* or *he was* or *he has been* or *he will be*, etc.; similarly पढेज्ज or पढेज्जा may mean: *he reads*, *he will read*, or *let him read*, etc. (H. C. 3, 177). Of this usage, however, I believe, there is no trace in Gd.

500. *Present indicative.* This tense is made by adding the following suff. to the root of the verb according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. ऐलो (or ऐल्यो) ऐल्यू	इला	इला	इला
2. ऐले or ऐलेस्	ऐली or ऐलिस	ऐल or ऐलह (or ऐल्यह)	ऐल्यू
3. ऐला	ऐले	ऐलै or ऐलेन्	ऐली or ऐलिन्

Optionally the initial ऐ may be changed to अ (§ 26); thus masc. अलो, fem. अल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. only इला. After roots in अ or ए and the R. हो, the initial ऐ or अ (but not इ) is dropped. Thus 1. sg. masc. लो, fem. ल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. always इला..

501. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) It has been stated in §§ 496. 497 that the old pres. indic. has been changed into the pres. conj. in E. H., N. and the W. Gds. Accordingly these languages (exc. P. see Nro. 2, p. 343) form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old tense some auxil. verb, viz. in Bh. लो, Mth.

ही, N. हूँ, Br. होँ or हूँ (Kl. 206, a), Mw. हूँ or हूँ (Kl. 212, 402), G. हूँ (Ed. 54), S. थो (Tr. 293). The Mth., N., Br., Mw. and G. forms ही, हूँ or हूँ, हूँ or होँ are those of the pres. tense of the auxil. verb *to be* (see § 514, 4. 5); but while Br., Mw. and G. simply add them to the unchanged termin. of the pres. conj., Mth. and N. first reduce the latter to the uniform type ऐ and अ respectively. Thus Br. करौँ होँ or करँ हूँ, Mw. करँ हूँ or करँ हूँ, G. करँ हूँ, but Mth. करै ही, N. गर हूँ or गर हूँ *I do*; Br. करै है, Mw. करै है or करै है, G. करे है, Mth. करै है, N. गर इस *thou doest*, etc. The S. form थो is the past part. of the auxil. verb चिन्नु *to be* (contr. for चिन्नु, Tr. 305, see § 514, 6), and is simply added to the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., but agrees in gender and number with the subj.; thus S. masc. करिन्नु थो *I do*, fem. करिन्नु थो, pl. masc. करिन्नु था *we do*, fem. करिन्नु थि, etc. The E. H. form लो is the 2nd pret. of the auxil. verb आव् *to come*, curtailed from ऐलो (see § 509, 4). It is conjugated regularly (see § 504), with the exception of the 3. sg. and 1. pl., where it has ला for *ल् and *ली (i. e., 3. sg. ऐल् or आयल्, 1. pl. ऐली); and the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., to which it is added, are not the ordinary ones but a uniform type in ऐ (as in Mth.) or in अ (as in N.), with the exception of the 1. pl. which preserves its regular term. ई¹). It may be observed, that in Gw. the forms, sg. लो, pl. ला, are used as an auxil. verb, in the sense of *he is*, *they are*, etc., by the side of the ordinary W. H. है, है, है, etc. (Kl. 198, 200); e. g., Gw. कोई लो or कोई है or कोई है or कोई है.

1) The uniform ऐ-type can easily be explained. In Br. the 2. and 3. sg. pres. conj. ends in ऐ, the 1. pl. in ऐँ. In O., the 1. sg. ends in अई which would easily contract to ऐ. Lastly in Br. the 3. pl. एन् is also used in the 2. pl. (see S. Ch. 142 and § 497, note; e. g., करेन् *they do* and *you do*); this is sometimes also done in Bs. (e. g., अहेँ or अहेन् *they are* or *you are*; but the proper 2. pl. अहह or अह or अहौ is also used); similarly the E. H. 3. pl. ऐँ would intrude into the 2. pl. Final anunāsika is dropped. According to these analogies every person of the E. H. pres. conj. might end in ऐ. The अ-type of the N. is but a shorter form of the ऐ-type (see § 26).

is there any one? In E. H. the forms of the pres. indic. are sometimes used in the sense of a future indic.; e. g., E. H. माई आवैले तब खाईला i. e. *when mother comes, then we shall eat*. Now it will be shown in § 509, 4, that the fut. indic. is made precisely in the same way (by adding the auxil. part. ल come to the pres. conj.) in Mw., M. and N.; and it may be observed, that in the Br. and P. their fut. indic., which is made in an analogous way by adding the auxil. part. ग gone to the pres. conj. (§ 509, 5), is also used as a pres. indic. in the case of the substant. verb *to be*; thus compare Br. and P. है or हैगा (हैगी) masc. *he is*, fem. है or हैगी with Br. होयगी, H. H. होगा, P. होवेगा masc., ०गी fem. *he or she will be*; again Br. हैँ or हैँगे masc. *we are*, fem. हैँ or हैँगी, P. masc. हँ or हँगे, fem. हँ or हँगीँ with Br. होयँगे, H. H. होँगे, P. होवँगे masc. *we shall be*, fem. Br. ०गीँ, H. H. ०गी, P. ०गीँ, etc. Again the presence of a long vowel in the antepenultimate, as E. H. सूतैलोँ *I sleep* (of R. सूत्), proves the composite character of the forms of the pres. indic. (viz. सूतै + लोँ); for otherwise, if they were single words, such a vowel would be shortened by the rule of § 25. Lastly these composite forms naturally yield the sense of a pres. indic. Thus सूतैलोँ which means lit. *I have come (that) I may sleep* or *I have come to sleep*, may easily pass into *I am sleeping* or *I sleep*. Literally these forms express, that the action is the *present result* of preceding events; e. g., „I have come to be happy“ is equal to „I am happy“ now. — 2) The H. H. and P. and, optionally, the Bs., Br. are peculiar in adding the auxil. verb हूँ, हँ, अहेउँ, हौँ resp., not to the old pres. tense, but to the pres. part. in ता, दा, त्, तु resp. Thus sing. Bs. कर्तु अहेउँ masc., ०ती अ० fem. (Kl. 241), Br. कर्तु हूँ or ०तौ हौँ m., ०ति or ०ती हूँ or हौँ f. (Kl. 202, a. 204, 283), P. कर्दा हँ m., ०दी हँ f. (Ld. 29. 37. 46), H. H. कर्ता हूँ m., ०ती हूँ f. *I do*; plur. Bs. कर्तु अही m., ०ति अही f., Br. कर्तु हैँ or ०ते हैँ m., ०ति or ०ती हैँ f., P. कर्दे हँ m., ०दीँ हँ f., H. H. करते हैँ m., ०ती हैँ f. *we do*, etc. Sometimes the auxil. verb is omitted; but in that case, the forms are properly those of

the pret. conj. — 3) In M. the old pres. indic. has assumed the sense of a *habitual past* (§ 496). Hence it forms a new pres. indic. by suffixing the ordinary personal termin. to the pres. part. in अत् (Man. 69. 72), in the same way as in the E. H. pret. conj. (§ 506). Thus M. करितो^० m., करित्ये^० f., करिते^० n. *I do*; करितोस् m., करितोस् f., करितेस् n. *thou doest*, etc. — 4) In B., O. and optionally in G., the old pres. indic. having retained its original indic. sense (§ 496), is still used as such (S. Ch. 142. Sn. 27. Ed. 54). Thus B. करि, O. करइ, G. कहूँ *I do*; B. करिस्, O. कह, G. करे *thou doest*, etc. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	अइ	ऐ लो ^०	ऐ की	औ हौ ^०	ऊँ हूँ, ऊँ हूँ	ऊँ, ऊँ हूँ
2.	इस्	उ	ऐ लेस्	ऐ के ^०	ऐ है	ऐ है, ऐ के	ए, ए के
3.	ए	अइ	ऐ ला	ऐ अक्खि	ऐ है	ऐ है, ऐ के	ए, ए के
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अकुँ, अकुँ	आँ थो	अतो ^०	अत् अहेउँ	अतु हँ ¹⁾	अता हूँ	अदा हाँ
2.	अ कस्	एँ थो	अतोस्	अत् अहेस्	अतु है	अता है	अदा है ^०
3.	अ क्ख	ए थो	अतो	अत् अहै	अतु है	अता है	अदा है

Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	उँ	ई ला	ऐ की	ऐ ^० है ^०	आँ हाँ, आँ काँ	ये, ये कैये
2.	अ	अ	ऐ लह्	ऐ की	औ हौ	ओ हो, ओ को	ओ, ओ को
3.	एन्	अंति	ऐ लेन्	ऐ अयि	ऐ ^० है ^०	ऐ है, ऐ के	ए, ए के
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अ कुँ ²⁾	ऊँ था	अतो ^०	अत् अही	अत् है ^०	अते है ^०	अदे हाँ
2.	अ कौ	ओ था	अताँ	अत् अहह ³⁾	अत् हौ	अते हो	अदे हो
3.	अ क्खन्	अनि था	अतात्	अत् अहेन् ³⁾	अत् है ^०	अते है ^०	अदे हन्

In the fem., S. changes थो and था to थी and थिऊँ, Br. अतु to अति, H. H. अता and अते to अती, P. अदा and अदे to अदी and अदीआँ; M. sg. 1. अत्ये^० or अते^०, 2. अत्येस् or अतेस् or अतीस्, 3. अती

1) Or, masc. अतौ हौ^०, fem. अती हौ^०, etc.

2) Or, अ कुँ.

3) Or, 2. अत् अहौ, 3. अत् अहै^०.

or अत्ये or अते; pl. fem. like masc. — In the neut., M. has sg. 1. अते, 2. अतेस्, 3. अते; pl. neut. like masc.

2. PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

502. *First preterite indicative.* A past tense indic., which I shall call the *first preterite* to distinguish it from the other form of the past indic. (§ 504), is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in इअ or इ (see § 302) in the following manner according to the number and person (but not the gender) of the subj.

Sing. 1. यो, 2. इस्, 3. इस्. Plur. 1. आ, 2. यो, 3. इन्.

There is no difference in meaning between the first and second preterites; they only differ in usage; the first pret. is said to be confined to the language of towns (*nāgarī bhāshā*).

Exception. As to some verbs which use an irregular past part. see § 304. E. g., कर्त्तु to do uses the forms किय (for किइअ) in the 1. sg. and 1. 2. pl., and किहि in the 2. 3. sg. and 3. pl.; thus sing. 1. कियौ, 2. किहिस्, 3. किहिस्; plur. 1. किया, 2. कियौ, 3. किहिन्. Like कर्त्तु are conjugated धर्त्तु to place, देत्तु to give, लेत्तु to take.

503. *Affinities and Derivation.* This tense exists in all Gds., exc. M.; but it is formed in a variety of ways. — 1) In O. H., E. H. and N. it is made by adding the suff. of the pres. conj. to the weak past participial form in इअ or इ (§ 302). These suff. (after subtracting the initial अ of the terminations, see § 497) are: 1. sg. उँ or ईँ (as in O. H. कर्त्तुँ, O. कर्त्तुईँ I do); 2. sg. सि or हि or उ (as in O. H. कर्त्तुसि or कर्त्तुहि or E. H. कर्त्तु thou doest); 3. sg. इ or (with anomalous इ) हि (as in O. H. कर्त्तुइ or कर्त्तुहि he does); 1. pl. उँ (as in N. कर्त्तुँ we do for *कर्त्तुँ or N. जाँ we go); 2. pl. हु (as in O. H. कर्त्तुहु you do); 3. pl. न्हि or नि (as in S. कर्त्तुनि or कर्त्तुनि they do, Tr. 287). The part. termin. इअ is generally contracted to ऐ and, sometimes, to अ in O. H. — a) The 1. sg. suff. उँ occurs in O. H. and E. H.; thus पठ्तिअ + उँ = O. H. and Bs. पठ्तेँ or पठ्तेँ, Bh. पठ्थ्योँ I read; the 1. sg. ईँ in N.; e. g., पठ्तिअ + ईँ = N. पठेँ I read or थिअ + ईँ = N. थ्येँ or थियेँ I was. —

Again b) the 2. sg. हि or उ occur in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि or पठिष्य + उ = O. H. पठेउ or पठउ *thou readst*; the 2. /sg. सि in O. H. and Bs., thus पठिष्य + सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि; in E. H., N. and, optionally, in Bs. it is shortened to स्, Bs. पठेस्, Bh. and N. पठिस्, or यिष्य + सि = N. थ्येस् or यियेस् *thou wast*. — Again c) the 3. sg. suff. हि occurs in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि *he read*. The 3. sg. इ does not exist in this tense. The E. H. adds the aff. स्, which in the longer form सि, occurs also in O. H. and Bs.; thus पठिष्य + aff. सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि or पठेस्, Bh. पठिस् *he read*. Though these 3. sg. forms outwardly resemble those of the 2. pers., they can scarcely have the same origin¹). The same 3. sg. aff. स् exists also in P.; e. g., पठिष्योस् *he read*, कीतोस् *he did* (Ld. 69); and also in N., though not in the pret. but the imper. (see § 497, 3. i, p. 338); e. g., पठोस् *let him read*. It is possibly a shortened form of the 3. pers. pron. से, enclitically attached in a manner similar to the more general S. practice of affixing curtailed pron. forms to the verb (see Tr. 345 ff.); thus S. पठित्सि *he read*, फिरित्सि *he turned round* (Tr. 368). The N. adds in the 3. sg. no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak part. form; thus N. masc. पठ्यो or पठियो *he read*, fem. पठो *she read*, or masc. थ्यो or यियो *he was*, fem. थिई *she was*. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ occurs in N.; thus पठिष्य + उँ = N. पठ्यूँ or पठ्युँ *we read*, or यिष्य + उँ = N. यिउँ or थ्युँ or थ्युँ *we were*. The O. H. and Bs. use (just as in the pres. conj.) the suff. of the 3. pl. न्हि or नि, thus पठिष्य + न्हि (for न्ति) = O. H. पठेन्हि, Bs. पठिनि or पठेन्. The E. H. (Bh.) 1. pl. termin. ञ is, perhaps, a modification for *यँ, containing the same 1. pl. termin. ञ as the 1. pl. of the Mw. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठा *we read* for *पठ्यँ = पठिष्य + ञ. — Again e) the 2. pl. हु occurs in O. H., E. H. and N.; thus पठिष्य + हु =

1) O. H. has, in the 3. sg., forms in ञउ or ऐउ resembling those of the 2. pers., e. g., पठेउ or पठउ *he read*, but here उ is, probably, not a conjugational, but a pleon. suff. = Ap. Pr. पठिष्यउ, Pr. पठिष्यओ, Skr. पठितकः, corresponding to the S. 3. sg. पठिष्यो, N. पठ्यो.

O. H. पढेहु, N. पढिउ or पढ्यौ, Bh. पढ्यौ, Bs. पढिउ *you read*, or N. यिअ + हु = यियउ or यो *you were*. — Again f) the 3. pl. न्हि occurs in O. H., as पढेन्हि *they read*, and नि in Bs. पढिनि and न् in E. H. and N. पढेन्, Bh. पढिन्. The N., however, has more usually a suff. ए, which is perhaps a modification of *ये or *येँ, containing the same 3. pl. suff. ए or ऐ as the 3. pl. of the G. and H. H. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337); e. g., N. पढे *they read* for *पढ्ये or *पढ्येँ = पढिअ + ऐ, or N. ये or थे *they were*. Sometimes N. omits the suff. altogether, and uses only the strong form of the past part.; thus N. पढ्या *they read*, यिया or य्या *they were*. — It will be observed, that this mode of forming the pret. indic. practically amounts to treating the past part. as a denominative verbal root. The treatment, generally, of past part. as denominative roots is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 352), and existed even in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 429). In this particular case, no doubt, the practice originated from the similarity, in Pr., of participles, used denominatively, to participles accompanied by the auxil. verb अस् *to be*. Thus compare the denom. form, 1. sg. Pr. पढिअमि, Ap. Pr. पढिअउं (= Skr. *पठितामि) *I read* with the common compound form, Pr. पढिअ न्हि (H. C. 3, 147) = Skr. पठितोऽस्मि. — 2) In B. and O. this tense is made by adding the pres. tense of the auxil. verb अहि or अहि *I am* to the past part. in इअ or इ resp.; thus 1. sg. B. पढियाहि *I read* for पढिअ or पढि + अहि, O. पढिअहि = पढि + अहि; 2. sg. B. पढियाहे, O. पढिअहु *thou readst*, etc. — 3) S. combines these two methods in the formation of this tense; viz., in the 1. sg. and pl. it adds (like the B. and O.) the auxil. verb सि *I am* and सोँ *we are* (for हि and होँ, § 11); e. g., 1. sg. S. हलिउ-सि masc., हलिअ-सि fem., or (in poetry) हलिओ-सि m., हलिआ-सि f. *I went* (= O. चलिअहि), pl. masc. हलिआ-सोँ, fem. हलिउँ-सोँ *we went* (हलिउ being the masc. and हलिअ the fem. nom. sing. of the weak and हलिओ, हलिआ of the strong form of the past part.). In the 2. sg. and pl. it adds (like the E. H.) the person. term. of the pres. conj., sg. ऐँ and pl. उ; thus 2. sg. हलिऐँ masc. (i. e., base हलिअ + suff. हि), हलिऐँ or हलिअौ

fem. *thou wentest*; pl. masc. हल्यउ (= E. H. चलयौ), fem. हलिउँ *you went*. In the 3. sg. and pl. it adds (like the N.) no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak participial form; thus 3. sg. हलिओ masc., हली fem. *he or she went* (= N. चलियो, चली); pl. masc. हलिआ, fem. हलिउँ *they went* (= N. चल्या, चली). These remarks, however, apply only to intrans. verbs. In the case of trans. verbs, S. never adds any suff. or auxil. verbs, but uses only the strong past part. form; that is, in effect, trans. verbs have in S. only a 3. pers. sg. and pl. (but no 1st and 2nd persons)¹). It is a circumstance in which all W. Gds. agree with S., and which explains the peculiarity, that for the 1. and 2. pers. they can only employ the *Bhāvi prayoga* or impers. pass. construction (see § 487); e. g., *the disciple left me* is in Br. चेला ने मो कौँ छोड्यौ, S. चेले मूँ खे इडिओ lit. *by the disciple in regard to me it was left*, „me“ being either masc. or fem.; but not the *Karmani prayoga* or personal pass. contr. चेला ने हौँ छोड्यौ masc. or हौँ छोडी fem., S. चेले आँउँ इडिओ masc. or आँउँ इडी fem., lit. *by the disciple I was left*. On the other hand, for the 3. pers., both the *Bhāvi* and *Karmani prayoga* may be used; thus *the disciple left that book* may be in Br. चेला ने ओह पोथी कौँ छोड्यौ, S. चेले हुन् पोथी खे इडिओ lit. *by the disciple, in regard to the book, it was left* (*Bhāvi*) or Br. चेला ने उ पोथी छोडी, S. चेले ह पोथी इडी lit. *by the disciple that book was left* (*Karmani*). — 4) With regard to intrans. verbs, the W. H., P. and G. use (like S.) the past part. in the *Kartari prayoga*, but (unlike S.) they do not add any suff. or auxil. verb; thus *I walked* is in W. H. हौँ चल्यौ m., हौँ चली f., G. हुँ चल्यो m. or चली f., but S. आँउँ हलिउसि m. or हलिअसी f. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

1) It should be recollected that, in W. Gd., trans. verbs admit only of the pass. constr., which converts what, with us, is subj. into the obj. Thus our 1. pers. sing. „I left him“ becomes, in W. Gd., 3. pers. sg. „by me he was left“. Accordingly, in W. Gd., there could be a first person only we should have the accus. of the 1. pers. pron. as obj.; e. g., our 3. pers. „he left me“ ought to become, in W. Gd., 1. pers. „by him I was left“. But even here W. Gd. has no first pers., but employs the impersonal constr. „by him in regard to me it was left“.

Singular.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाक्खि ¹⁾	इअक्खि	ऐउ	यो	एँ	इउसि ²⁾	
2.	इयाक्खे	इअक्खु	ऐसि	इस्	इस्	इएँ	
3.	इयाक्खे	इअक्खइ	ऐ-सि	इ-स्	यो	इओ	इओ

	P.	G.	W. H.	H. H.
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इआ	यो	यो	आ
2.	इआ	यो	यो	आ
3.	इआ	यो	यो	आ

Plural.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाक्खि	इअक्खुँ	ऐन्हि	आ	यूँ	इआसी	
2.	इयाक्ख	इअक्ख	ऐहु	यो	यो	यउ	
3.	इयाक्खेन्	इअक्खंति	ऐन्हि	इन्	या ³⁾	इआ	इआ

	P.	G.	W. H.	H. H.
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	ए	या	ए	ए
2.	ए	या	ए	ए
3.	ए	या	ए	ए

1) These B. term. are, ordinarily, pronounced एक्खि, एक्खे, etc.; thus करियाक्खि is pronounced करेक्खि *karechhi*, not *kariyáchhi*. In fact, the old way of spelling has been retained, though the pronunciation has changed; just as in English we still write „night“, but pronounce „nite“. The old past part. करिअ is contracted to करे (just as in E. H. the conj. past करिअ becomes करे, see § 491); and अक्खि curtailed into क्खि. The older forms इयाक्खि, etc. may occasionally be heard in solemn addresses (sermons, etc.). The cons. क्ख *chh* is always pronounced *ts*, or even *s* (as in M. and Mw., see § 11); e. g., करियाक्खि (or rather करेक्खि) is pronounced *karetsi* or even *karesi*. — Similarly the B. term. of the conj. part. इया is ordinarily contracted into ए; e. g., करिया *having done* is pronounced करे.

2) Or इओसि m., इआसि f.

3) Or ऐन् or ए com. gen.

In the fem. sg., N. यो, S. इमो, P. इमा, G. यो, W. H. यौ and H. H. आ are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इमसि, 2. इँ or इमाँ; fem. pl., N. या, P. ए, G. या, W. H. and H. H. ए are changed to ई, and S. has 1. इँसी, 2. and 3. इँ.

Note: The plusperf. is a periphrastic tense in E. H. (see § 510, 7), exc. in Mth. which, like the B. and O., forms it by adding the past tense of the auxil. verb, Mth. क्लो, B. आकिलाम्, O. थेलि *I was*, etc. (see § 514, 6) to the past part. in इम or इ. The part. termin. इम is contracted in Mth. to ऐ. Thus 1. sg. Mth. पढैक्लो, B. पढियाकिलाम्, O. पढियेलि *I had read*, etc. The resp. termin. are: 2. sg. Mth. ऐक्ले, B. आकिलि, O. इथेलु; 3. sg. Mth. ऐक्ल, B. आकिलि, O. इथेल; 1. pl. Mth. ऐक्लो, B. आकिलाम्, O. इथेलु; 2. pl. Mth. ऐक्लो, B. आकिले, O. इथेल; 3. pl. Mth. ऐक्लाह्, B. आकिलेन्, O. इथेले.

504. *Second preterite indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in अल् or इल् (§ 302) in the following manner according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. अलो (or अल्यो)	अल्यु
2. अलेस् (intr.) or अले	अलिस् or अली
3. अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. अली	अली
2. अलह् or अल (or अल्यह्)	अल्यु
3. अलेन् or अलै	अलिन् or अली

In the 3. sg., trans. verbs take the suff. अलेस्, while the intrans. take अल्. Again in the 2. sg. masc. the suff. अलेस् is confined to intrans. verbs. The other suff. are common to both.

Note: In the eastern parts of the E. H. area the termin. are pronounced with इ, as इलो, इल्यु, etc. — The forms enclosed in brackets are less usual.

505. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists only in E. and S. Gd. It is made, like the first pret. indic., by

adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (see § 503) to the weak form of the past part. in अल् or इल्, except in M., which adds them to the strong form in अला. It should be remarked, however, that B. and O. omit the suff. in the 3. sg. of all verbs, and E. H. in the 3. sg. of intrans. verbs. Again M. omits the suff. in the 3. sg. and pl. of intrans. verbs and in all persons, sg. and pl., of trans. verbs¹). E. g., *he read the book* is in E. H. उ पायो पढलेस्, B. ओ पोयो पढिल्, O. से पोयो पढिला, M. त्या ने० पोयो वाचिलो (Man. 65, 2, or exceptionally तो पोयो पढला Man. 81, 133). On the whole the pers. suff. are added quite regularly. Thus a) 1. sg. उँ in E. H. and M.; e. g., wk. form, masc. पढल् + उँ = E. H. पढलो० *I read*, fem. पढलि + उँ = E. H. पढल्युँ; here the final उँ is anomalous; it is possibly founded on the strong form पढलो = पढलिअ + उँ. Again strong form, masc. पढला + उँ = M. पढलो०; but in the fem. M. adds the 1. sg. suff. ईँ; this may be clearly seen in the pres. indic.; e. g., पढतो = पढतिअ (Skr. पठन्तिका) + ईँ = M. पढये० or पढते० *I read*; similarly पढलो = पढलिअ + ईँ = पढले० *I read*. In the neut., M. uses either उँ or ईँ; thus पढलो० or पढले०. O. shows the same 1. sg. termin. इ (a shortened form of अइँ), as in its pres. indic.; thus पढलि *I read*, just as अइँ or अहि *I am*. The B. has the 1. sg. termin. अम्, which appears to have preserved the original pres. indic. termin. अमि (see § 497, 2); thus पढिलाम् (= Mg. *पढिदामि denom.). — Again b) the 2. sg. suff. सि or, shortened, स् occurs in E. H. and M.; thus wk. f. masc. रहल् + सि = E. H. रहलेस् with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable; fem. रहलि + स् = E. H. रहलिस् *thou remainedst*; or st. f. masc. पढला + स् = M. पढलास्, fem. पढली + स् = M. पढलीस्, neut. पढले० + स् = M. पढले०स् with an anomalous anunásika; for the suff. स् is anomalously added to the nom. sg. neut. पढले० instead of to the neut. base पढले

1) M. which constructs transitive verbs passively, like the W. Gds. (see § 487), not actively, like the E. Gds., follows the usage of the former languages (see § 503, 3, p. 348) in adding no suff. to the past part. of such verbs.

(= *पठल्य = Mg. पठिद्य = Skr. पठितक). The 2. sg. हि is found in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + हि = E. H. पठले or (shortened) B. पठलि; fem. पठलि + हि = E. H. पठली *thou readst*. The 2. sg. उ is peculiar to O.; thus पठिलु, just as in the O. pres. indic. पठु (see § 497, pp. 335. 336). — Again c) the 3. sg. सि occurs in the E. H. पठलेस्. But there is no suff. in M., B., O. or in intrans. verbs of E. H.; thus M. पठलाम् m., पठली f., पठलेⁿ n. *he read*, गेला m., गेली f., गेलेⁿ n. *he went*, O. पठिला, गला c. g., B. पठिल्, गेल् c. g., E. H. गयल् c. g., but पठलेस्. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ is found in M. and O.; thus M. पठलोⁿ c. g. or (shortened) O. पठलुँ c. g. *we read*. The E. H. shows the same 1. pl. termin. ई (but without anunásika) as in its pres. conj. (§ 497, 2, d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठली c. g. *we read* just as पठीⁿ *we read*. And the B. has preserved the original pres. indic. termin. आम्; thus पठिलाम् (= Mg. *पठिदाम denom., or *पठिदाम्ह). — Again e) the 2. pl. हु is preserved in the E. H. fem., thus पठलि + हु or, perhaps, st. f. पठलिअ + हु = E. H. पठल्यु *you read*. Otherwise the 2. pl. ह or हं is used; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + ह = E. H. पठलह् or (dropping ह, § 32) पठल *parhala*, O. पठलि c. g.; the B. पठिले c. g. apparently contracts final अह *aha* to ए or stands for पठलेⁿ, properly a 3. pl. form (see § 497, footnote and O. 3. pl. पठिले). Or st. f. पठला + हं = M. पठलाँ c. g. — Again f) the 3. pl. नि or, shortened, न् is preserved in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + नि = E. H. पठलेन्, B. पठिलेन् with transfer of final इ into the preceding syllable; fem. पठलि + न् = E. H. पठलिन्. The E. H. also shows the other 3. pl. termin. ऐⁿ in the masc. पठलैⁿ *they read* and, slightly modified, in the fem. पठलीⁿ, just as in the E. H. pres. conj. पठैⁿ *they read*. O. omits the anunásika, पठिले for *पठिलेⁿ. M. uses the strong form, but without any suff., पठले. — 2) As regards the E. H. optional forms, 1. sg. अल्योⁿ and 2. pl. अल्यह्, they contain probably the strong part. termin. अलय, with euph. य् for अलअ; thus Skr. denom. *पठितकामि (= पठितकोऽस्मि), Mg. *पठिदअमि or *पठिद्यमि, Ap. *पठिद्यउं, E. H. पठिल्योⁿ or पठल्योⁿ. — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इलाम्	इलि	अलो ^० m., अल्यु ^० f.	अलो ^० m., अले ^० f., अलो ^० or अले ^० n.
2.	इलि	इलु	अलेस् m., अलिस् f.	अलास् m., अलीस् f., अलेस् n.
3.	इल्	इला	अलेस् c. g., अल् c. g.	अला m., अली f., अले ^० n.

Plural.

1.	इलाम्	इलुं	अली c. g.	अलो ^० c. g.
2.	इले	इल	अलह् m., अल्यु f.	अला ^० c. g.
3.	इलेन्	इले	अलेन् m., अलिन् f.	अले m., अल्या f., अली ^० n.

Note: The B. and O. forms are of common gender.

506. *Preterite conjunctive.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the pres. part. in अत् (§§ 298. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.

Plural.

	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अतो ^० (or अत्यो ^०)	अत्यु	अतो or इत्	अती or इत्
2.	अतेस् or अते	अतिस् or अती	अतह् or अत (or अत्यह्)	अत्यु
3.	अत् or अतै	अत् or अतै	अतेन् or अतै ^०	अतिन् or अतै ^०

Note: The forms enclosed in brackets are more usual in Bs., than in Bh. — Occasionally this tense is used as a pres. indic.

507. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists in all Gds., with the exception, apparently, of S. But while W. Gd. uses the strong form of the pres. part. without addition, to express the pret. conj., the E. and S. Gds. make it by joining to the same part. the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. These composite forms are made exactly on the same model as those of the second pret. indic., see § 505, where the matter has been fully explained. The E. Gds. use the weak, but M. the strong form of the part. Thus 1. sg. masc. O. H. पठतेडँ or पठतडँ, E. H. पठत्यो^० or पठतो^० (if) *I read*, B. पठिताम् (S. Ch. 147), O. पठन्ति (Sn. 32), M. पठतो^० (Man. 60, 4. 73); but W. H. पठतौ or पठतो, H. H. पठता (Kl. 167, a), P. पठदा (Ld. 37. 46, etc.), G. पठतो (Ed. 54); fem. O. H. पठतिडँ or पठतेडँ, E. H. पठत्यु, B. and O. like masc.,

M. पठते^०, but W. H., H. H., G. पठती, P. पठदी; neut. M. पठतो^०, but G. पठतुं, etc.; see the table of termin. below. The optional E. H. termin. इत् of the 1. pl. is, evidently, an intrusion from the B., where the pres. part. ends in इत्, instead of in अत् (see § 300). — It will be observed, that the M. termin. of the pret. conj. are nearly identical with those of its pres. indic.; the only difference being in the 3. sg. and plur. (e. g., 3. sg. masc. conj. अता, but indic. अतो; 3. pl. masc. conj. अते, but indic. अतात्) and in the 2. sg. masc. (viz. conj. अतास्, but indic. अतोस्). The indic. has more nearly preserved the old Pr. forms; and moreover, probably, uses the weak form of the part. Thus the M. 2. sg. indic. पठतोस् *thou readest* is the same as the Pr. पठतो सि; while the M. 2. sg. conj. पठतास् (*if thou readst*) is rather a denom. formation पठता + सि = Pr. *पठतम-सि; see the remarks in § 503, 1, p. 347. — In the other Gds. the pret. conj. itself may be occasionally used as a sort of indefinite pres. indic.¹⁾ Examples of this usage, of expressing the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. with or without the auxil. verb अस् *to be*, are already found in Pr. (see Wb. Spt. 62. 63). Thus Spt. 26 ज्ञांतांतेऽसि वा कुपांते *if thou knewest, thou wouldst not do*. This would be in M. ज्ञांतांतास् न कर्तास्, E. H. ज्ञो ज्ञानतेस् न कर्तेस्. Of the two Pr. methods, that which dispenses with the auxil. verb appears to have given rise to the W. Gd. form of the pret. conj., while the other which uses that verb apparently led to the S. and E. Gd. denom. forms of the same tense. The fact that the Gd. pret. conj., and the analogously-formed tenses of the 1st and 2nd pret. and fut. indic., have different forms for the several genders, is thus explained by the Pr. For the part. with or without the auxil. verb, must, of course, agree with the subj. in regard to gender. — 2) S., apparently possesses no special pret. conj., but uses instead of it the ordinary pres. indic. (see Tr. 501). — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

1) Called *indefinite imperfect* by Kl. 167, 323, *frequentative* by S. Ch. 147, *first present subjunctive* by Ed. 54.

Singular.				
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	अंति	अतो ^ॐ m., अत्यु ^ॐ f.	अतो ^ॐ m., अते ^ॐ f., अतो ^ॐ n.
2.	इतिस्	अंतु	अतेस् m., अतिस् f.	अतास् m., अतीस् f., अते ^ॐ स् n.
3.	इत्	अंता	अत् c. g.	अता m., अती f., अते ^ॐ n.
Plural.				
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	अंतु	अती or इत् c. g.	अतो ^ॐ c. g.
2.	इत	अंत	अतह् m., अत्यु ^ॐ f.	अता ^ॐ c. g.
3.	इतेन्	अंते	अतेन् m., अतिन् f.	अते m., अत्या f., अती ^ॐ n.
Plural.				
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	अंतु	अती or इत् c. g.	अतो ^ॐ c. g.
2.	इत	अंत	अतह् m., अत्यु ^ॐ f.	अता ^ॐ c. g.
3.	इतेन्	अंते	अतेन् m., अतिन् f.	अते m., अत्या f., अती ^ॐ n.
Plural.				
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	अंतु	अती or इत् c. g.	अतो ^ॐ c. g.
2.	इत	अंत	अतह् m., अत्यु ^ॐ f.	अता ^ॐ c. g.
3.	इतेन्	अंते	अतेन् m., अतिन् f.	अते m., अत्या f., अती ^ॐ n.

508. *Future indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the fut. part. in अब् or इब् (§§ 308. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.				Plural.			
Masc.		Fem.		Masc.		Fem.	
1.	अबो ^ॐ	अब्यु ^ॐ		अबै or अब्	अबै or अब्	अबै or अब्	
2.	अबेस् or अबे	अबिस् or अबी		अबह् or अब	अबह् or अब	अब्यु ^ॐ or अबू	
3.	ई	ई		इहै ^ॐ	इहै ^ॐ	इहै ^ॐ	

With the part. termin. इब् precisely similar suff. are formed; thus इबो^ॐ m., इब्यु^ॐ f., etc. As to the manner of adding them to the root, see § 308.

Note: Optionally the masc. termin. may be used with a fem. subj. — Occasionally this tense is used in the sense of the imperative.

509. *Affinities and Derivation.* The fut. is formed in six different ways in Gd., the distinguishing marks of which are the following consonants: 1) ह्, 2) स् or ण्, 3) ब् or व् or म्, 4) ल् or न्, 5) ण्, 6) द्. — 1) The first two types are derived from the old Skr. and Pr. fut. In Skr. the fut. is formed by the suff. इष्य (i. e., स्य with the connecting vowel इ), which changes in Pr. either to इस्स (Mg. इष्ण) or to इहि or इह (Vr. 7, 12—15. H. C. 3, 166—169, see also Wb. Bh. 431. Ls. 349—353). The Pr. इहि or इह becomes in Gd. इहि or इह or अह, and the fut. of this ह-type is preserved in O. H., W. H., and the 3. sg. and pl. of the E. H. Thus 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहिइ or (b) *पठिहइ, whence O. H. (b) पठिहइ or पठिहहि (with euph. ह् §§ 69. 503, 1, p. 345), Br. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठहो, E. H. पठो (contracted for *पठिइ for *पठिहो); 3. pl. Skr. पठिष्यन्ति *they will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहन्ति or (b) *पठिहन्ति, whence O. H. (b) पठिहहिं, Br. and E. H. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठहो (for *पठहो). The forms of the 2. sg. and pl. of this type also occur in E. H., but only in the sense of the precativum (§ 498). — 2) The Pr. इस्स becomes in Gd. ईस् or अस् (or ईण् or अण्), and the fut. of this स-type is preserved in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gth. CXXVI), Mw. and G. Thus 1. sg. Skr. पठिष्यामि, Pr. (a) पठिस्सामि (H. C. 3, 167) or (b) पठिस्सं (H. C. 3, 169) *I shall read*, O. P. (a) पठसा, Mw. पठिस्सू (= Ap. Pr. *पठिस्सउं), G. (b) पठोण्; again 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. पठिस्सइ, O. P. पठसो, Mw. पठसी, G. पठणे. — The remaining four types of the fut. are purely Gd. formations; thus 3) the fut. of the ब-type is confined to the E. Gds. and is made by adding to the fut. part. the personal suff. of the old pres. ind. (§ 503), exactly on the same model as in the case of the second preterite (see § 505). In O. the ब् or व् may be changed to म् (see § 134, note). Thus 1. sg. masc. E. H. पठबो *I shall read*, B. पठिब (S. Ch. 146), O. पठिबि or पठिमि (Sn. 28); fem. E. H. पठव्यू, B. and O. like masc. In B. and O. the 3. sg. and pl. also are of the ब-type, while in E. H. they are of the ह-type (see Nro. 1); thus 3. pl. B. पठिबेन्, O. पठिबे or पठिमे, but E. H.

पठिहै. A tense of the ल्-type also exists in M. and G.; but it is used as a pres. conj., not as a fut. indic. Moreover it is constructed passively (see § 496, p. 333). Thus M. म्याँ सोडावा (Man. 73), G. मारे होउबो (Ed. 54) *I may loose* (lit. *by me he may be loosed*) = E. H. मै होउबो *I shall loose*. There is apparently in Pr. an instance of a fut. (or imper.) of this type, mentioned by Ls. 422, देवु *you will give* or *give ye*; the same in E. H. would be देव देबा. — 4) The fut. of the ल्-type exists only in M., Mw. and N. (incl. Gw. and Km.) and 5) that of the ग्-type only in Br. (incl. Kn.), H. H. and P. Both types are formed on the same principle, viz. by respectively adding the past part. ऐल (wk. f.) or ऐलो (st. f.) *come* and गयो (or गया) *gone* to the old pres. indic. (= habit. past in M., and pres. conj. in the others, see § 496) and, for this purpose, curtailing ऐल् and ऐलो to इल् or ल् and लो respectively and contracting गयो to गौ (or गया to गा). M. uses the weak form इल् or ल्, Mw. the strong form लो, and N. either of the two. Moreover, N. sometimes adds the personal suff. of the old pres. (§ 503) or the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* (e. g., पढ़नेहूँ *we shall read*); on the other hand M. omits the part. ल in the 1. pl. (e. g., पढ़ूँ *we shall read*). Lastly in both M. and N. the characteristic ल् is sometimes changed to न्. A tense of the ल्-type exists also in E. H., but it expresses the pres. indic. (see § 500). Similarly the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* forms in Br., Kn. and P. a tense of the ग्-type with the sense of the pres. indic. (Kl. 200. 197, 367). Thus 3. sg. masc. पढ़े-ल् or -लो = M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैलो, N. पढ़ला (with पढ़ for पढ़े, cf. § 501, 1, footnote, p. 342) *he will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैला *he reads*; fem. M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़ली *she will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैले *she reads*; or 3. pl. masc. M. पढ़ति + इल् = पढ़तील, Mw. पढ़ैला, N. पढ़लान् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् (wk. f.) or पढ़नन् (= पढ़ + ल or ला + न्) *they will read*; fem. M. पढ़तील, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़लीन् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् or पढ़नन् (wk. f.). Again 3. sg. masc. पढ़े + गौ = Br. पढ़ैगौ, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगा *he will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ैगी, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगी; or 3. pl. masc. Br. पढ़ैगे, H. H. पढ़ैगे, P. पढ़पागे *they will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ैगी, H. H. पढ़ैगी, P. पढ़पागी, etc. But 3. sg. Kn. हैगो, P.

हैगा *he is*, 3. pl. Kn. हैगे, P. हनगे *they are*; fem. sg. Kn. and P. हैगी, pl. Kn. हैगी, P. हनगीआँ; P. has optionally है *he is*, हन् *they are*; H. H. has है, हैँ, etc.; but fut. H. H. होगा m., होगी f. *he (she) will be*, pl. होंगे m., होंगी f. *they will be*, Kn. होएंगो, होएँगे m., ोगी f.; P. होवेगा, होएंगे m., ोगी, ोगीआँ f., etc. Literally, these futures mean: पढ़ैगो *he is gone (that) he may read*, पढ़ेल् or पढ़ेलो *he is come (that) he may read*, etc., compare the English: *he is going (or coming) to read*. — 6) The fut. of the द-type is confined to S., and is formed by adding to the pres. part. in अंदु or इंदु the same termin., as are used for the first pret. indic. (see § 503, 3. 5). Thus 1. sg. masc. हलंदु + सि = S. हलंदुसि, fem. हलंदिसि *I shall go*; 2. sg. masc. हलंदेँ, fem. हलंदिँ or हलंदिआँ; 3. sg. masc. हलंदो, fem. हलंदी. This fut. lit. means: *I may be reading*, etc. — 7) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईण्	असूँ or अहूँ	इहौँ	अबोँ or इबोँ	इब	इवि
2.	अशे	असी or अही	इहै	अबेस् or इबेस्	इबि	इवु
3.	अशे	असी or अही	इहै	ई	इबे	इव्
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	औँगी	ऊँगा	आँगा	एन्	ऊँला or अनेछुँ	अंदुसि
2.	ऐगी	एगा	एँगा	असील्	अलास् or अनस्	अंदेँ
3.	ऐगी	एगा	एगा	एल्	अला or अनेछ	अंदो

Plural.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईणूँ	असाँ or अहाँ	इहैँ	अबै or इबै	इब	इवा
2.	अशो	अतो or अहो	इहौ	अबह् or इबह्	इबा	इव
3.	अशे	असी or अही	इहैँ	इहैँ	इबेन्	इवे
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	हैँगे	हँगे	आँगे	ऊँ	ऊँला or ऊँनेछूँ	अंदासीँ
2.	औगे	ओगे	ओगे	आल्	अलउ or उनेछी	अंदउ
3.	हैँगे	हँगे	आपागे	अतील्	अलान or अनन्	अंदा

In the fem. sing., Br., H. H., P., N. final औ or आ changes to ई, as Br. औँगी, P. आँगी, etc.; plur. Br., H. H., N. ए or आ

changes to ई, and P. ए to ईअँ, as Br. ऐंगी, N. उली, P. अंगीअँ, etc. For the E. H. fem. form see § 508. S. has fem. sg. 1. अदिअसि, 2. अदिएँ or अदिअँ, 3. अदी; pl. 1. अदिउसी, 2. and 3. अदिऊ. In the rest, the forms are com. gen.

3. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

510. Ten additional tenses are made in E. H., by adding the pres. indic. or conj., or the pret. indic. or conj., or the fut. indic. of an auxil. verb to the pres. part. in अत् (§ 298) or to the past part. in अल् (§ 302). These tenses are the following:

1) The *definite or durative present indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् ब्राटे or पढ्त् होवै *he is reading*.

2) The *future conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् होय (if) *he be reading*.

3) The *definite preterite or the perfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the past part.; as पढ्ले ब्राटे or पढ्ले होवै *he has read*.

4) The *future exact conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the past part.; as पढ्ले होय (if) *he have read*.

5) The *durative or habitual preterite or the imperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् रहल् *he was reading*.

6) The *durative present conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् होतै (if) *he were reading*.

7) The *pluperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the past part.; as पढ्ले रहल् *he had read*.

8) The *preterite conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the past part.; as पढ्ले होतै (if) *he had read*.

9) The *durative future indicative or present dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् होई *he will be reading*.

10) The *future exact indicative* or *preterite dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the past part.; as पढले होई *he will have read*.

Note: For the purpose of expressing the *present conditional* the pret. conj. (§ 506) is used. Thus पढतै (if) *he read*. This completes the series of tenses of the condit. mood, which is merely a special application of the conj.

511. If the verb is a trans. one, the termin. of the past part. assumes the form अले, instead of अल्, in the formation of the additional tenses; but if the verb is intrans. the termin. is अल्, as usual; e. g., trans. पढले बाटो^० *I have read*, but intr. रहल् बाटो^० *I have remained*. The termin. of the part. never suffers any change; but that of the auxil. verb changes in agreement with the number, person and (where possible) gender of the subj.; thus 1. sg. masc. पढ्त् बाटो^०, fem. पढ्त् बायूँ *I am reading*; 3. pl. masc. पढले होवै^०, fem. पढले हई^० *they have read*.

Note: The form in अले is really the adv. part. (see § 488), i. e., the loc. or obl. form of the past part. Thus पढले बाटो^० means lit., *on having read I am*. Similarly B. uses the adv. pres. part.; e. g., B. पढिते छि lit. *on reading I am*, i. e., *I am reading*; B. पढिते छिलाम् lit. *on reading I was*, i. e., *I was reading*.

512. *Affinities*. Periphrastic tenses exist in all Gds. and are made in the same way as in E. H. But while B., O. and, in the case of the past part. of trans. verbs, E. H. add the auxil. verb to the adv. part. (S. Ch. 135. 194. Sn. 30. 31, see § 511, note), N. and, generally, E. H. add it to the weak, H. H., P., G., S. to the strong, and W. H. to either form of the adj. part. (see Ld. 37 etc. Ed. 54 etc. Tr. 316 etc. Kl. 167 etc.). Again M. adds it to the weak or strong form of the adj. part. or to one of the ordinary tenses (Man. 92—96), somewhat analogous to the formation of the pres. indic. in E. H. and the W. Gds. (see § 501, 1). They also vary as to the particular auxil. verb which they employ (see §§ 513. 514). Thus 3. sg. masc. pres. definite: O. पढु अइइ *he is reading*, B. पढिते छे or प^० अइइ; but E. H.

पठ् ब्राह्मै or होवै, N. पठ् इ, Gw. पठ् or पठ् दो इ, Br. पठ् or पठ् तो है, Mw. पठ् तो है, H. H. पठ् ता है, P. पठ् ता है, S. पठ् तो आहे, G. पठ् तो होयछे; again M. पठ् आहे or पठ् तो आहे or पठ् असतो (Man. 93, 1. 2. 3); fem. O., B., E. H., N. like masc.; Gw. पठ् or पठ् दी इ, Br. पठ् ति or पठ् ती है, H. H. पठ् ती है, P. पठ् दी है, S. पठ् दी आहे, G. पठ् ती होयछे, M. पठ् आहे or पठ् ती आहे or पठ् असती.

513. The auxil. verbs which are employed to form the periphrastic tenses are the following: 1) ब्राह्मै or ब्राह्मै *he is*, 2) रहल् *he was* and 3) होवै *he is*. The verb ब्राह्मै is defective; there exists only the pres. indic. The verb रहल् is the ordinary second pret. indic. of the regular verb रहल् *to remain*; but it is used as the past tense of the defective ब्राह्मै. The verb होवै is a regular verb with a complete conjugation, from which the remainder of the defective tenses of the verb ब्राह्मै are supplied. Examples see in § 510.

Note 1: When the past tense रहल् is used as an auxil. verb, it expresses past action generally, „he was“, precisely like था in H. H. But according to circumstances, it may retain its ordinary meaning „he remained“, as the past tense of रहल् *to remain*, and express past action as enduring, precisely like रहा in H. H. Thus E. H. कहल् रहल् *he had said* = H. H. कहा था, or *he remained saying, he kept saying* = H. H. कहा रहा.

Note 2: The past tense भइल् or भयल् of the verb होब् *to be* is never used as a mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning „he became“, and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action (§ 538, g). Thus E. H. कहत् भयल् *he began saying*, but कहत् रहल् *he was saying*. The corresponding Gd. forms are: W. H. भयौ (auxil. थो), M. काला (aux. होता or असे), G. हवो (aux. हतो).

514. *Affinities and Derivation.* The various verbs which are used as auxiliaries in Gd. are the following: 1) The verb ब्राह्मै. It occurs as a defective auxil. in E. H. and B.; in both only in the pres. indic.; but in M. and S. it is a *principal* verb with a complete conjugation, and is used to form compound verbs; viz.,

M. बाटणे^० *to appear* (Man. 92; in W. H. in the denom. form बतानौ^०), S. बतणु *to continue* (Tr. 344). It is derived from the Skr. R. वृत्, Pr. वत् or वट्. The B. pres. indic. (sg. 1. वटि, 2. वटिस्, 3. वटे; pl. 1. वटि, 2. वट, 3. वटेन्) is, as usual, identical with the old Pr. pres. indic. (see § 501, 4). Thus 3. sg. Skr. वर्तते, Pr. वट्ते, B. वटे. From the other Pr. form वत्ते comes the E. H. बाय् (for बाइ) or बा by the elision of त् (§ 153). As regards the other E. H. forms बाटे, बाटा^०, etc. which are different for the two genders, it is more probable that they are denominatives, made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1, p. 345) to the part. Skr. वृत्, P. वट् (H. C. 2, 29) *existing* (of R. वृत्). Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. वृत्तोऽस्मि, Pr. वट्मिहि, Ap. Pr. *वट्ते, E. H. बाटा^० *I am*; fem. Skr. (st. f.) वृत्तिकास्मि, Pr. वट्मिहि, Ap. Pr. *वट्मिहि or *वट्ते, E. H. बाय्, etc. — 2) The verb रहब् is used only in E. H. as an auxil., and only in the 2nd pret. indic. Otherwise it is in E. H. as well as in all other Gds. a regular principal verb, „to remain“. It is commonly (in E. H., W. H., P., S.) used to make a kind of (continuative) compound verb (see § 538, b). — 3) The verb होइब् *to be* occurs in E. H. as well as in all other Gds., both as an auxiliary and as a principal, with a complete conjugation. It is derived from the Skr. R. भू; thus 3. sg. pres. conj. E. H. होय्, Pr. होइ or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति. As an auxil., however, it has in E. H. a special pres. indic., which is made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1) to the part. Skr. भूत्, Pr. हविम् (§ 307, 7) *being* or *been*. Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. भूतोऽस्मि, Pr. हविमिहि, Ap. Pr. *हविमिहि, E. H. हउमो^० or हौमो^० or हौवो^० (§§ 122. 69. 28); fem. Skr. भूतास्मि, Pr. हविमिहि, Ap. Pr. *हविमिहि, E. H. हउउ^० or हयू^० (§ 123) *I am*, etc. On the other hand, as a principal verb, it has a regular pres. indic. होलो^० *I am*, etc. (see § 500). There is in E. H. a peculiar pleonastic form of this verb, which may be used optionally for its simple form, both when it is an auxil. and when it is a principal. It is made by adding the increment ल to the root हो; and the pleon. R. होल, thus made, is conjugated regularly.

Thus infin. होखच् to be; pres. indic. 2. sg. masc. होखैलेस् or °ले, fem. होखैलिस् or °ली; 2. pl. masc. होखैलह् or °ल, fem. °ल्यू, etc. (see § 517). There is also a peculiar negative form of this verb, which exists, however, only in the pres. tense and is the same for all three moods. It also shows the peculiar increment ख; thus 3. sg. masc. नैखै he is not, fem. नैखै or नैखो she is not, etc. (see § 518)¹). The origin of these forms is obscure. Perhaps they are derived from the Skr. R. भू by means of the inchoative suff. क्त or स्क. Just as the R. अस् to be forms in Pr. an inchoative अक्ख (= अक्त = अस्क), so the R. भू or Pr. हुव or हव or हो (cf. H. C. 4, 60) might form in Pr. an inchoative *हुवक्ख or *हवक्ख or *होक्ख (= भुक्त or भुस्क), in E. H. होख. The negative form नैख appears to have arisen by incorporating the negative particle न not. There are similar negative verbal forms in M., see Nro. 4. — 4) The verb अहै or अहे or है he is. It occurs in the S. Gd., N. Gd. and W. Gd. (exc. G.), but not in the E. Gd. (exc. Bs.); and it exists only in the pres. indic. (see Man. 88. Tr. 300. Kl. 201. Ld. 25), as shown in the following table:

Singular.

	O. H.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहउँ or हौँ	अहेउँ or हौँ	अहेँ	आहियाँ	हौँ	हूँ	हौँ	हुँ	हूँ
2.	अहसि or अहहि or है	अहेस् or अहे	अहेस्	अहेँ or आहीँ	है	है	हैँ	हस्?	है
3.	अहइ or अहै or आहि	अहै	आहे	आहे	है	है	है	ह?	है

Plural.

	O. H.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहहिँ or हहिँ	अही	आहीँ	आहियूँ	हैँ	हौँ	हौँ	हूँ?	हैँ
2.	अहहु or हहु	अहह् or अहो or अहेँ	आहाँ	आहियो	हौ	हो	हो	हौ	हो
3.	अहहिँ or हहिँ or आहैँ	अहेन् or अहैँ	आहेन्	आहिनि or आहीनि	हैँ	है	हन् or हैन्	हुन्	हैँ

1) Beames in J. R. A. S. III, 495 mentions a negative form नाखे he is not and an affirmative खे he is, and Kl. 199, 373 follows him. But my authorities deny the existence of either form.

The origin of this auxil. verb is uncertain. It is commonly identified with the Skr. R. अस् *to be* (e. g., Tr. 300. 304). This view must assume a change of स् to ह्, and also a change of class; for the Skr. R. अस् is of the II. cl., while the Gd. verb is of the VI. cl.; e. g., 1. sg. O. H. अहँ represents a Skr. form *असामि, Pr. *अहमि, Ap. *अहँ (see H. C. 4, 385); or Gd. अहै = Skr. *असति, Pr. *अहइ. None of the Pr. gramm., however, as far as I am aware, notice any such change in the R. अस्. There would be also a difficulty in accounting for the initial अ in M. and S. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to identify this Gd. auxil. verb with the pres. indic. of the R. भू *to be*. This root may become in Pr. हव (H. C. 4, 60) and in Gd. हु; thus 3. sg. Skr. भवति, Pr. हवइ, Mw. हुँ (Kl. 232). The form हुँ would easily become है. On the other hand, instead of suppressing अ, it (or rather ह्, see § 132) may be transposed; thus the Pr. R. हव might become in Gd. अहु and thence अह, with अ as compensation for the elided व्; e. g., 3. sg. Pr. हवइ = *अहुइ = Bs. अहै or M. अहे, etc. It may be observed, that the Skr. 3. pl. भवति is even in Ap. Pr. contracted to भंति or हंति (H. C. 4, 406. 416), which would regularly become है in W. H. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337). The M. possesses a negative form of this verb. It is defective, occurring only in the pres. ind.; viz., sing. 1. नाहीँ, 2. नाहीँस्, 3. नाहीँ; plur. 1. नाहीँ, 2. नाहीँ, 3. नाहीँत्. There is an other defective negative verb in M., which occurs only in the pres. and pret. indic.; viz., pres. sing. 1. नव्हेँ, 2. नव्हेस् or नव्हस्, 3. नव्हे; plur. 1. नव्होँ or नव्हे, 2. नव्होँ or नव्हेत्, 3. नव्हेत् or नव्हत्; pret. sing. masc. 1. नव्हतोँ, 2. नव्हतास्, 3. नव्हता; plur. 1. नव्हतोँ, 2. नव्हतोँ, 3. नव्हते. See Man. 88. 89. This negative form, however, really belongs to the verb होइब् (M. होणेँ), see Nro. 3. Besides M. has a complete negative form of the verb असणेँ (see Nro. 5), which is made by changing the initial अ to न; e. g., inf. नसणेँ; 1. sg. pres. ind. नसतोँ *I am not*, from असतोँ *I am*, etc. See Man. 89. — 5) The verb अहइ or अहे or हे *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gd. and N. Gd., in all W. Gds. (exc. Br.), and in all E. Gds. (exc. Bh.

and Bs.). In M. it has a complete conjugation (Man. 84—86), even in a negative form, see Nro. 4; in B., Mth., Mw., P., Km. it exists in the pres. and pret. tenses; and the rest have it only in the pres. tense. In S. even the pres. is fragmentary. In M., P. and S., इ is changed to ए (see § 11). In B., though इ is written, ए is commonly pronounced, see footnote on p. 349. The following comparative table shows the various forms of this auxil. verb:

Present. Singular.										
	O.	B.	Mth.	N.	Km.	Mw.	G.	P.	S.	M.
1.	अङ्खि or अङ्खि	आङ्खि or अङ्खि	की	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	साँ	सि	असे
2.	अङ्खु	आङ्खिस्	के	ङ्खस्	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	सी	—	असस्
3.	अङ्खइ	आङ्खे	अङ्खि	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	ङ्ख	सी	—	असे
Plural.										
1.	अङ्खु	आङ्खि	की	ङ्ख	की	की	की	साँ	सी or सी	असू
2.	अङ्ख	आङ्खे	की	ङ्खी	का	को	को	साँ	—	असाँ
3.	अङ्खति	आङ्खेन्	कियि	ङ्खन्	ङ्खन्	ङ्खे	ङ्खे	साण्	—	असत्
Preterite. Singular.										
1.		आङ्खिलाम्	ङ्खिलो		ङ्खियो	ङ्खो		सा		असलो m., ले f., लो n.
2.		आङ्खिले	ङ्खिले		ङ्खियो	ङ्खो		सा		असलास् m., लेस् n., लीस् f., ली f., लो n.
3.		आङ्खिल्	ङ्खिल्		ङ्खियो	ङ्खो		सा		असला m., लो f., ले n.
Plural.										
1.		आङ्खिलाम्	ङ्खिलो		ङ्खिया	ङ्खा		स		असलो c. g.
2.		आङ्खिलेन्	ङ्खिलेन्		ङ्खिया	ङ्खा		स		असलो c. g.
3.		आङ्खिलेन्	ङ्खिलेन्		ङ्खिया	ङ्खा		स		असले m., ल्या f., ली n.

The forms of the pres. have assumed in M. and P. the sense of the (habit.) past (see § 496); thus M. असे, P. साँ *I was* (Man. 84. Ld. 25). The forms of the pret. sg. Km. क्रिया, Mw. हो, P. सा are masc. and change in the fem. to हो and सी; they are really past part.; those of B. and Mth. are of com. gen. and made according to the 2nd pret. ind. (see § 505). In M. the pres. ind. (also used as pres. conj.) is असतो, etc. (conjug. regularly, see § 501, 3. 5); the pres. conj. असावा, etc. (see § 496); the imper. असूँ, etc. (see § 496); the fut. असेन्, etc. (see § 509, 4. 7). I have observed in N. the 2. sg. fut. हैनस् = M. अससील् (see § 509, 4. 7). The infin. is in M. असूँ or असपो (see § 313. 314); the pres. part. असत् (see § 486); the adv. part. असतौ, which I have also found in N. as इंदा *on being* (see § 489). — This verb also exists in Pr. (H. C. 4, 215. Ls. 346); e. g., 3. sg. अक्ङ् *he is*, etc. The R. अक् (= अक्ष or अस्क) is probably an inchoative form of the R. अस् *to be* or (according to some MSS. of H. C.) आस् *to dwell, exist*. — The only remnant of the original R. अस् which has survived in Gd. is the S. 3. sg. and pl. अय = Pr. अत्यि, Skr. अस्ति. It is, however, used only in conjunction with pronom. suff. (Tr. 349), as अयमि *it is* or *they are to me*. Even in Pr., अत्यि is used for both numbers and all three persons (H. C. 3, 148); e. g., अत्यि अहं *I am*, अत्यि अम्हे *we are*, etc. — 6) The verb थाय् or थिर् *he is*. It occurs only in the W. Gd. and O. In G. and S. it has a complete conj. (see Ed. 72—81. Tr. 305—312). In the others it exists only in the pret. indic. tense (or past part., see Sn. 26. Ld. 25. Kl. 200), as shown in the following comparative table:

Preterite. Singular.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	थेलि c. g.	थिये or थे c. g.	थिउसे m., थिअसे f.	थो m., थो f.
2.	थेलु c. g.	थियेस् or थिस् c. g.	थिर् m., थिर् f.	थो m., थो f.
3.	थेला c. g.	थियो or थ्यो m., थिर् f.	थिओ m., थो f.	थो m., थो f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	था m., थो f.	था m., थो f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.
2.	था m., थो f.	था m., थो f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.
3.	था m., थो f.	था m., थो f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.

Preterite. Plural.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	थेलुँ c. g.	थिऊँ or थूँ c. g.	थिआसी m., थिऊँसी f.	थे m., थो f.
2.	थेल c. g.	थियौ or थ्यौ c. g.	थिआउ m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थो f.
3.	थेले c. g.	थिये or थे c. g.	थिआ m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थो f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोआँ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयँ n.
2.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोआँ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयँ n.
3.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोआँ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयँ n.

The pres. conj. is: 1. sg. G. थाउँ, S. थिआँ; 2. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिएँ or थोँ; 3. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिए; 1. pl. G. थये or थैये, S. थिऊँ; 2. pl. G. थाओ, S. थिओ; 3. pl. G. थाय, S. थिआन् or थोन्. The pres. indic. is in G. थाउँ कुँ, etc., S. थिआँ थो, etc. (see § 501, 1. 5); the fut. indic. in G. थैश्, etc., S. थोदुसे, etc. (see § 509, 2. 6. 7); the imper. G. था or थाजे, etc., S. थोऊ or थोजे, etc. (see §§ 497. 499); the infin. in G. थवूँ, S. थिआणु; the part. pres. in G. थतो, S. थोदो; the adv. part. in G. थते or थतँ, S. थोदे. — The original of this verb appears to be the Skr. R. स्था *stand, exist*, which in Pr. becomes ठा or था (H. C. 4, 16); e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ठाइ (H. C. 4, 436) or थाइ, G. थाय्; 3. pl. Pr. थंति (H. C. 4, 395) or *थाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), G. थाय्. The S. थिआणु *to be* is derived from the R. स्था, just as S. पिआणु *to drink*, from R. पा, S. डिआणु *to give*, from R. दा; i. e., it is founded on a reduplicated radical form *स्थित (for the ordinary Skr. तिष्ठ), analogous to पिव, दद.

THIRD CHAPTER. CONJUGATION.**1. THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY VERB.**

515. There is only a pres. tense; the pret. is supplied from the verb रह् *to remain* and the rest from the complete auxil. verb हो *to be* (see §§ 513. 516).

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. बाटो ^{१)}	बायूँ	बाटी	बाटी
2. बाटेस् or बाटे	बाटिस् or बाटी	बाटह् or बाट	बायू
3. बाटै or बाय् or बा	बाटै or बाय् or बा	बाटैँ	बाटीँ

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. रहलोँ	रहल्यूँ	रहलो	रहली
2. रहलेस् or रहले	रहलिस् or रहली	रहलह् or रहल	रहल्यू
3. रहल्	रहल्	रहलेन् or रहलैँ	रहलिन् or रहलीँ

2. THE WEAK COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

516. This verb is complete with the exception of the pret., which is supplied from the verb रहब् to remain, to dwell; see § 513, note 2.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होवों ^{२)}	हयूँ	हई	हई
2. होवे	होवी	होवह् or होव	हयू
3. होवै or हो	होवै or हो	होवैँ	हईँ

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

This is the same as the pret. of the def. auxil. verb; see § 515, b.

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होबोँ or होइबोँ	होबै or होइबै or होब् or होइब्
2. होबेस् or होइबेस् or होबे or होइबे ^{३)}	होबह् or होइबह् or होब or होइब
3. होई	होइहैँ

1) Throughout, the initial consonant may optionally be व् v or ब् b, and in the low forms of E. H. the medial cons. may be ३ or ४ (§ 145).

2) The masc. form may throughout be used also as fem.

3) Fem. also: होबिस् or होबी or होइबिस् or होइबी.

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

1. हो^{हुँ}हो^ई

2. हो

होह् or हो

3. होय

हो^यe) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Fem.

Plur. Masc.

Fem.

1. होतो[ँ] or होत्यो[ँ]

होत्यूँ

होइत्

होइत्

2. होतेस् or होते

होतिस् or होती

होतह् or होत

होत्यू

3. होत् or होतै

होत् or होतै

होतेन् or हेतै[ँ]होतिन् or होती[ँ]

Imperative mood.

f) Present tense: *let me be*, etc.; the same as pres. conj.

3. THE STRONG COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

517. This verb is conjugated regularly throughout; see § 514, 3.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Fem.

Plur. Masc.

Fem.

1. होखँलो[ँ]

होखँल्यूँ

होखीला

होखीला

2. होखँलेस् or ०ले

होखँलिस् or ०ली

होखँलह् or ०ल

होखँल्यू

3. होखँला

होखँले

होखँलै[ँ]होखँली[ँ]b) First preterite: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

1. होख्यो[ँ]

होखा

2. होखिस्

होख्यू

3. होखिस्

होखिन्

Or: Second preterite.

Sing. Masc.

Fem.

Plur. Masc.

Fem.

1. होखलो[ँ]

होखल्यूँ

होखली

होखली

2. होखलेस् or ०ले

होखलिस् or ०ली

होखलह् or ०ल

होखल्यू

3. होखल्

होखल्

होखलै[ँ]होखली[ँ]

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखबो ^१)	होखब्युँ	होखब् or ०बै	होखब् or ०बै
2. होखबेस् or ०बे	होखबिस् or बी	होखबह् or ०ब	होखब्यू
3. होखी	होखी	होखिहै ^२	होखिहै ^२

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होखो ^३	होखी ^३
2. होखु	होखह् or होख
3. होखै	होखै ^३

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखतो ^४ or ०त्यो ^४	होखत्युँ	होखती or ०खित्	होखती or ०खित्
2. होखतेस् or ०ते	होखतिस् or ०ती	होखतह् or ०त	होखत्यू
3. होखतै or ०त्	होखतै or ०त्	होखतै ^५	होखती ^५

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me be*, etc. Like the pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sg. होखिहे, 2. pl. होखिह or होखी.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are formed like those of the regular active verb पढ़ब *to read*, see § 521; e. g., मै^६ होखत् बाटौ^६ *I am being*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival: pres. होखत् *being*, past होखल् *been*.Conjunctive: होखे के *having been*.Adverbial: pres. होखते or होखतै *on being*, past होखले *on having been*.

Infinitives.

Nom. होखब् *to be*, acc. होखै के or होखवे के, etc.

4. THE DEFECTIVE NEGATIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

518. This verb exists only in the present tense of the three moods; see § 514, 3.

1) Or: होखिबो^१, होखिबेस्, etc.

a) Present indicative: *I am not*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. नैखो ^१ or नैखूँ	नैख्यु ^१)	नैखी	नैखी
2. नैखेस् or नैखे	नैखिस् or नैखो	नैखह् or नैख	नैख्यु ^१)
3. नैखै	नैखी ^१)	नैखै ^२	नैखी ^२ १)

b) Pres. conj. and imp. like the pres. indic.

5. THE REGULAR ACTIVE VERB.

519. There is only one conjugation. With the exception of a very few irregular verbs (see §§ 525—527), all verbs, whether ending in a consonant or a vowel, are conjugated precisely alike. One example, therefore, of an active verb, fully conjugated, is sufficient. For the sake of convenience, however, a list of the first persons sing. and plur. of a few typical verbs will be added; the remainder to be supplied by the student. It may be noted, as a practical rule, that an euphonic semicons. may be added to any verb which ends with a vowel; viz. γ to verbs in ई, and ν to verbs in उ or ओ. Thus every verb may be made to have a consonantal termination; and after the required verbal form has been made, the euph. cons. may be again omitted; and the resultant form will be that of the verb as ending in a vowel.

520. The elements.

पठ्ठ् to read; root पठ्; bases पठ्त्, पठल्.

The radical and participial tenses.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठैलो ^१ or °ल्यो ^२	पठैल्यु	पठीला	पठीला
2. पठैलेस् or °ले	पठैलिस् or °ली	पठैलह् or °ल or °ल्यह्	पठैल्यु
3. पठैला ^२)	पठैले	पठैलेन् or पठैलै ^२	पठैलिन् or °ली ^२

1) Or like masc.

2) Or पठलो^२, पठलेस्, पठला, and so on throughout.

b) First preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठ्यो ^ॐ	पठा
2. पठिस्	पठ्यौ
3. पठिस्	पठिन्

Or second preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठलो ^ॐ or ल्यो ^ॐ	पठल्यु ^ॐ	पठली	पठली
2. पठले	पठलिस् or ली	पठलह् or ल or ल्यह्	पठल्यु
3. पठलेस्	पठलेस्	पठलेन् or लै ^ॐ	पठलिन् or ली ^ॐ

c) Future: *I shall read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem. ¹⁾	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठ्यो ^{ॐ2)}	पठ्यु ^ॐ	पठ्य or बै	पठ्य or बै
2. पठ्येस् or बै	पठ्यिस् or बी	पठ्यह् or ब	पठ्यु or बू
3. पठ्ये	पठ्ये	पठ्यै ^ॐ	पठ्यै ^ॐ

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठो ^ॐ	पठो ^ॐ
2. पठु or पठ	पठह् or पठ
3. पठे	पठे ^ॐ

e) Preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठतो ^ॐ or त्यो ^ॐ	पठत्यु ^ॐ	पठती or पठित्	पठती or पठित्
2. पठतेस् or ते	पठतिस् or ती	पठतह् or त or त्यह्	पठत्यु
3. पठत् or तै	पठत् or तै	पठतेन् or तै ^ॐ	पठतिन् or ती ^ॐ

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me read*, etc. Like pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sing. पठिहे, 2. plur. पठिह.

1) Throughout the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or पठिबो^ॐ, पठिबेस्, and so on throughout.

521.

The periphrastic tenses.

Indicative mood.

g) Durative or definitive present: *I am reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.¹⁾

1. पठत् बाटो^० or प^० होवो^०
2. पठत् बाटेस् or बाटे or होवे
3. पठत् बाटै or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो

- पठत् बायू^० or प^० हयू^०
 पठत् बाटिस् or बाटी or होवी
 पठत् बाटै or होवै etc.

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

1. पठत् बाटी or प^० हई
2. पठत् बाटह् or बाट or होवह् or होव
3. पठत् बाटै^० or होवै^०

- पठत् बाटी or प^० हई
 पठत् बायू or हयू
 पठत् बाटी^० or हई^०

h) Durative pret. or imperfect: *I was reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

1. पठत् रहलो^०
2. पठत् रहलेस् or ^०ले
3. पठत् रहल्

- पठत् रहल्यू^०
 पठत् रहलिस् or ^०ली
 पठत् रहल्

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

1. पठत् रहलो
2. पठत् रहलह् or ^०ल
3. पठत् रहलेन् or ^०ले^०

- पठत् रहली
 पठत् रहल्यू
 पठत् रहलिन् or ^०ली^०

i) Durative future: *I shall be reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

1. पठत् होबो^० or प^० होखबो^० ²⁾
2. पठत् होबेस् or प^० होखबेस्
3. पठत् होई or प^० होखी

- पठत् होबै or प^० होखबै
 पठत् होबह् or प^० होखबह्
 पठत् होइहै^० or प^० होखिहै^०

k) Definite pret. or perfect: *I have read, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.¹⁾

1. पठले बाटो^० or प^० होवो^०
2. पठले बाटेस् or बाटे or होवे
3. पठले बाटै or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो

- पठले बायू^० or हयू^०
 पठले बाटिस् or बाटी or होवी
 पठले बाटै or होवै etc.

1) Optionally the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or प^० होइबो^० or प^० होखिबो^०, etc.; in fact any of the forms given in §§ 516, c. 517, c may be used.

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. पठले बाटी or प ^० हई | पठले बाटी or प ^० हई |
| 2. पठले बाटह् or बाट or हौवह् or हौव | पठले बायू or हयू |
| 3. पठले बाटै ^० or हौवै ^० | पठले बाटी ^० or हई ^० |

1) Pluperfect: *I had read, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. पठले रहलो ^० | पठले रहल्यू |
| 2. पठले रहलेस् or ^० ले | पठले रहलिस् or ^० ली |
| 3. पठले रहल् | पठले रहल् |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. पठले रहली | पठले रहली |
| 2. पठले रहलह् or ^० ल | पठले रहल्यू |
| 3. पठले रहलेन् or ^० लै ^० | पठले रहलिन् or ^० ली ^० |

m) Future exact: *I shall have read, etc.*

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. पठले होबो ^० or प ^० होखबो ^० | पठले होबै or प ^० होखबै |
| 2. पठले होबेस् or प ^० होखबेस् | पठले होबह् or प ^० होखबह् |
| 3. पठले होई or प ^० होखी | पठले होइहै ^० or प ^० होखिहै ^० |

Conjunctive mood.

n) Future conditional: (if) *I be reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. पठत् हो ^० हुँ or प ^० होखुँ | पठत् होई ^० or प ^० होखो ^० |
| 2. पठत् हो or प ^० होखु | पठत् होह् or हो or प ^० होखह् or होख |
| 3. पठत् होय् or प ^० होखै | पठत् होय् or प ^० होखै ^० |

o) Durative pres. condit.: (if) *I were reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. पठत् होतो ^० | पठत् होत्यू |
| 2. पठत् होतेस् or प ^० होते | पठत् होतिस् or प ^० होती |
| 3. पठत् होत् or प ^० होतै | पठत् होत् or प ^० होतै |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. पठत् होइत् | पठत् होइत् |
| 2. पठत् होतह् or प ^० होत | पठत् होत्यू |
| 3. पठत् होतेन् or प ^० होतै ^० | पठत् होतिन् or प ^० होती ^० |

p) Fut. exact condit.: (if) *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

1. पढ़ले हो^{हुँ} or प^० होखो^०

पढ़ले होई^० or प^० होखी^०

2. पढ़ले हो or प^० होखु

पढ़ले होह् or प^० होखह् etc.

3. पढ़ले होय् or प^० होखै

पढ़ले होयँ or प^० होखै^०

q) Preterite condit.: (if) *I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होतो^०

पढ़ले होत्यँ

2. पढ़ले होतेस् or प^० होते

पढ़ले होतिस् or होती

3. पढ़ले होत् or प^० होतै

पढ़ले होत् or होतै

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होइत्

पढ़ले होइत्

2. पढ़ले होतह् or प^० होत

पढ़ले होत्यू

3. पढ़ले होतेन् or प^० होतै^०

पढ़ले होतिन् or प^० होती^०

522.

Participles.

a) Adjectival: pres. पढ़त् *reading*, past पढ़ल् *having read* or *read*.

b) Conjunctive: पढ़् के or पढ़े के *having read*.

c) Adverbial: pres. पढ़ते or पढ़तै *on reading*, past पढ़ले *on having read*.

Infinitives.

Nom. पढ़् to read, acc. पढ़बे के or पढ़ै के *for to read* or *for reading*, instr. पढ़बे से or पढ़ै से, etc.

Noun of agency.

Masc. or fem. पढ़निहार *reader*, or fem. पढ़निहारी.

6. LIST OF TYPICAL REGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

523.

Elements.

a) रहब् *dwell*, root रह्, bases रहत्, रहल्

b) पीयब् *drink*, " पी or पीय्, " पीयत्, पीयल्

c) चूयब् *drip*, " चू, " चूयत्, चूयल्

or चूवब्, " (चूव्), " चूवत्, चूवल्

d) रोयब् *weep*, " रो, " रोयत्, रोयल्

or रोवब्, " (रोव्), " रोवत्, रोवल्

a) Present indicative.

		Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहैला	रहैले	plur.	रहैलेन्	रहैलिन्
	b)	पीयैला	पीयैले		पीयैलेन्	पीयैलिन्
	c)	चूऐला	चूऐले		चूऐलेन्	चूऐलिन्
	d)	रोऐला	रोऐले		रोऐलेन्	रोऐलिन्

b) First preterite.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहिस्	plur.	रहिन्
	b)	पीयिस्		पीयिन्
	c)	चूइस्		चूइन्
	d)	रोइस्		रोइन्

Second preterite.

		Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहल्	रहल्	plur.	रहलेन्	रहलिन्
	b)	पियलेस्	पियलेस्		पीयलेन्	पीयलिन्
	c)	चूअल्	चूअल्		चूअलेन्	चूअलिन्
	d)	रोअल्	रोअल्		रोअलेन्	रोअलिन्

c) Future indicative ¹⁾.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रही	plur.	रहिहै ^०
	b)	पी or पीई		पीहै ^०
	c)	चूई		चूइहै ^०
	d)	रोई		रोइहै ^०

d) Pres. conj. or f) Pres. imper.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहै	plur.	रहै ^०
	b)	पीयै		पीयै ^०
	c)	चूऐ		चूऐ ^०
	d)	रोऐ		रोऐ ^०

1) 1. pers. sing. masc. रहबो^० or रहिबो^०; पियबो^० or पीबो^०; चुअबो^० or चुइबो^०; रोअबो^० or रोइबो^०.

e) Preterite conjunctive.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहत् or रहतै	plur. {	रहतिन्
	b) पीयत् or पीयतै		पीयतिन्
	c) चूयत् or चूयतै		चूयतिन्
	d) रोयत् or रोयतै		रोयतिन्

f) Precative forms.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
2. pers. sing.	a) रहिहे b) पोहे c) चूइहे d) रोइहे	plur. <div> रहिह पीह चूइह रोइह </div>

g) Durative or definite present.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहत् बाटै or र ^० होवै	plur. {	र ^० बाटी ^० or हई ^०
	b) पीयत् बाटै or प ^० होवै		प ^० बाटी ^० or हई ^०
	c) चूयत् बाटै or चू ^० होवै		चू ^० बाटी ^० or हई ^०
	d) रोयत् बाटै or रो ^० होवै		रो ^० बाटी ^० or हई ^०

l) Pluperfect indicative.

	Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहल् रहल्	plur. {	रहल् रहलिन्
	b) पीयले रहल्		पीयले रहलिन्
	c) चूयल् रहल्		चूयल् रहलिन्
	d) रोयल् रहल्		रोयल् रहलिन्

The remaining periphrastic tenses are made after the analogy of Nro. g and l.

524.

Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	रहत् रहल्	रह् के ¹⁾	रहते रहले
b)	पीयत् पीयल्	पी के	पीयते पीयले
c)	चूयत् चूयल्	चूय् के	चूयते चूयले
d)	रोयत् रोयल्	रोय् के	रोयते रोयले

1) Or: रहे के, पीए के, etc.

Infinitives.

a) रहब्	Acc. रहै के or रहबे के
b) पीयब्	„ पीयै के or पीबे के
c) चूम्बब्	„ चूऐ के or चूम्बे के
d) रोम्बब्	„ रोऐ के or रोम्बे के

Noun of agency.

a) रहनिहार, b) पीयनिहार, c) चूम्बनिहार, d) रोम्बनिहार; fem. °री.

7. IRREGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

525. There are three kinds of irregularities. *Firstly*; some verbs add the suffixes ल्, त् and ब् instead of ऐल् or अल् (of the pres. indic.), अत् (of the pres. part.) and अब् or इब् (of the future). This is done by all verbal roots in आ and ए and by the root हो be. But the roots in आ and the R. हो may optionally take इब्.

Secondly; some verbs have a special form of the past participle (and of all tenses derived from it), of the conjunctive part., and of the first preterite tense. These are the verbal roots: कर do, धर put, आव come, पाव find, जा go, दे give, ले take, हो be.

Thirdly; the two verbal roots दे give and ले take add no suffix in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. conj. and imper.

Note also, that आव or अव, आय or अय, आइ or अइ are often contracted into औ or ऐ respectively (see § 34).

The following verbs will serve as types: खाब् to eat, जाब् to go, देब् to give, होब् to be, करब् to do, आवब् to come. All other verbs in आ are conjugated like खाब्; लेब् to take is conjugated like देब्, धरब् to put like करब्, पावब् to find like आवब्.

526.

a) Present indicative.

1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a) जालो ^०	जाला	जाईला	जालेन्
b) देलो ^०	देला	देईला	देलेन्
c) होलो ^०	होला	होईला	होलेन्

b) First preterite.

1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a) गयो ^०	गयिस्	गया	गयिन्
b) दियो ^०	दिहिस्	दिया	दिहिन्
c) भयो ^०	भयिस्	भया	भयिन्
d) कियो ^०	किहिस्	किया	किहिन्
e) आयो ^०	आइस्	आया	आइन्
f) लायो ^०	लाइस्	लाया	लाइन्

Second preterite.

a) गइलो ^{० 1)}	गयल् ¹⁾	गइली ¹⁾	गइलेन् ¹⁾
b) दिहलो ^०	दिहलेस्	दिहली	दिहलेन् ¹⁾
c) भइलो ^{० 1)}	भयल् ¹⁾	भइली ¹⁾	भइलेन् ¹⁾
d) कइलो ^{० 1)}	कइलेस् ¹⁾	कइली ¹⁾	कइलेन् ¹⁾
e) अइलो ^{० 1)}	आयल् ¹⁾	अइली ¹⁾	अइलेन् ¹⁾
f) लइलो ^{० 1)}	लइलेस् ¹⁾	लइली ¹⁾	लइलेन् ¹⁾

c) Future.

a) ज्ञाबो ^{० 2)}	ज्ञाई	ज्ञाब् or ज्ञाबै ²⁾	ज्ञाइ ^{० 2)}
b) देबो ^०	देई	देब् or देबै	देइ ^०
c) होबो ^{० 3)}	होई	होब् or होबै	होइ ^०

d) Pres. conj. and f) Pres. imper.

1. sg.	2. sg. ⁴⁾	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl. ⁵⁾	3. pl.
a) ज्ञाव्	ज्ञा	ज्ञाय	ज्ञाई ^०	ज्ञाह्	ज्ञाय्
b) यो ^०	दे	दे	देई ^०	देह्	दे ^०
c) हो ^{० 6)}	हो	होय्	होई ^०	होह्	होय्

1) Or: गैलो^०, गइल्, गैली, गैलेन्, ऐलो^०, आइल्, etc.

2) Or: ज्ञाइबो^० or ज्ञैबो^०, ज्ञाइब् or ज्ञाइबै or ज्ञैबै, ज्ञैहै^०.

3) Or: होइबो^० or होखबो^० or होखिबो^०, etc. The verb आव् come formes regularly अइबो^० or ऐबो^० or अउबो^० or औबो^०, आई, आइब् or आव् or आउब्, अइहै^० or ऐहै^०, etc.

4) Or: जो; but not देउ.

5) Or: ज्ञा; यह् or य; हो.

6) Or: होहुँ or होखो^०, as in §§ 516, d. 517, d.

e) Preterite conjunctive.

1. sg.	3. sg. masc.	1. pl.	3. pl. masc.
a) ज्ञातो ^७	ज्ञात् ^{१)}	ज्ञाइत् ^{२)}	ज्ञातेन् ^{३)}
b) देतो ^७	देत्	देइत्	देतेन्
c) होतो ^७	होत्	होइत्	होतेन्

f) Precative forms.

2. sing.	2. plur.
a) जइहे or जैहे	जइह or जैह
b) देइहे	देइह
c) होइहे	होइह

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part. and the auxiliary verb; provided only, that trans. verbs use the past part. in ले, and intrans. verbs that in ल्. Thus, 3. sg. pluperf. गयल् रहल् *he had gone*, but दिहले रहल् *he had given*.

527.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a) ज्ञात्, गयल् ^{४)}	ज्ञाय् के ^{५)}	ज्ञातै, गैले ^{४)}
b) देत्, दिहल्	दे के	देतै, दिहले
c) होत्, भयल् ^{४)}	होतै के	होतै, भैले ^{४)}
d) कर्त्, कयल् ^{४)}	कय् के	कर्तै, कैले ^{४)}
e) आवत्, आयल् ^{४)}	आय् के	आतै, ऐले ^{४)}
f) खात्, खायल् ^{४)}	खाय् के	खतै, खैले ^{४)}

Infinitives.

a) ज्ञाब् ^{६)} , ज्ञाये के or ज्ञाबे के
b) देब्, देऐ के or देबे के
c) होब्, होऐ के or होबे के

Nouns of agency.

ज्ञानिहार, fem. °री
देनिहार, " °री
होनिहार, " °री

1) Or: ज्ञातै, देतै, होतै.

2) Or: ज्ञाती, देती, होती.

3) Or: ज्ञातै^७, देतै^७, होतै^७.

4) Or: गइल्, गइले; भइल्, भइले, etc.

5) Or contr. जै के, दै के, कै के, etc.

6) Or: ज्ञाइब्, जइबे or जैबे के; होइब्, होइबे के; आइब्, अइबे or ऐबे के, etc.

8. THE REGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERB.

528. The forms of the pass. verb are composed of the past part. in *अल्* of the principal (i. e. active) verb and the tenses of the verb *ज्ञाब्* *to go* (§ 479). The formation of the past part. is explained in §§ 302—307; and the conjugation of the verb *ज्ञाब्* is given in §§ 525—527. The form of the past part. never changes, but the forms of the verb *ज्ञाब्* vary, as usual, according to the person, number and gender of the subject.

Present indicative.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पठल् ज्ञालो ^ॐ	पठल् ज्ञाल्युं
2. पठल् ज्ञालेस् or प ^० ज्ञाले	पठल् ज्ञालिस् or प ^० ज्ञाली
3. पठल् ज्ञाला	पठल् ज्ञाले
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठल् ज्ञाईला	पठल् ज्ञाईला
2. पठल् ज्ञालह् or प ^० ज्ञाल	पठल् ज्ञाल्युं
3. पठल् ज्ञालेन् or प ^० ज्ञालै ^ॐ	पठल् ज्ञालिन् or प ^० ज्ञाली ^ॐ

The rest of the tenses may be formed after the above manner.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पठल् ज्ञात्, प ^० गयल्	पठल् ज्ञाय् के	पठल् ज्ञातै प ^० गैले
Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.	
पठल् ज्ञाब्, प ^० ज्ञाये के or प ^० ज्ञाबे के	पठल् ज्ञानिहारू; fem. ०री	

9. IRREGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERBS.

529. There are only two irregular verbs; viz. *ज्ञाब्* *to go* and *होब्* *to be* (§ 479, exc.). The former uses the participial form *ज्ञायल्*, instead of *गयल्* in the formation of the compound pass., the latter the part. form *होअल्* or, optionally, *भयल्*. All other active verbs, which form an irregular past part. (see §§ 527. 304), use the same also in the compound pass. Thus, *कयल् ज्ञाला* *it is done*; *दिहल् ज्ञाला* *it is given*; but *ज्ञायल् ज्ञाला* *it can go* (lit. *it is gone*); *होअल् ज्ञाला* *it can be*, see § 530.

530. The pass. voice of intrans. verbs is only used in an impersonal and potential sense. Thus, मो से बइठल् नाही^१ जाला lit. *by me it cannot be sat, i. e., I cannot sit*; or मो से खरा नाही^१ होअल् (or भयल्) जाल् बाटे *I cannot stand up*.

Note: The compound pass. verbs should be carefully distinguished from the compound intensitive verbs; see § 538, a.

10. THE POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERB.

531. The potent. pass. verb, as to the formation of which see § 482, is conjugated precisely like any other (active) verb in आ, e. g., like खाब् *to eat*, the conjugation of which is given in §§ 525—527.

a) Present: *I can be read, etc.*

	Sg. Masc.	Fem.	Pl. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढालो ^१	पढाल्यू	पढाईला	पढाईला
2.	पढालेस् ^{१)}	पढालिस् ^{१)}	पढालह् ^{१)}	पढाल्यू
3.	पढाला	पढाले	पढालेन् ^{१)}	पढालिन् ^{१)}

b) Preterite: *I could be read, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढइलो^१ or पढैलो^१; 3. sg. पढायल् or पढाइल्, etc.
There is no first preterite form of the potent. pass.

c) Future: *I shall be able to be read, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढइबो^१ or पढैबो^१ or पढाबो^१, 3. sg. पढाई; pl. पढइहै^१ or पढैहै^१, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may be able to be read, etc.*

Sing. 1.	पढाँव्व	2. पढा or पढो	3. पढाय्
Plur. 1.	पढाँई ^१	2. पढाह् or पढा	3. पढाँय्व

e) Pret. conj.: *I would be able to be read, etc.*

1. sing. masc. पढातो^१; plur. पढाती or पढाइत्, etc.

Periphrastic tenses.

g) Dur. pres. 1. sg. masc. पढात् बाटो^१ or प^० होवो^१, etc.

h) Dur. pret. " " पढात् रहलो^१, etc.

i) Dur. fut. " " पढात् होबो^१ or प^० होखबो^१, etc.

1) Or: 2. sg. m. पढाले, f. पढाली; pl. m. पढाल; 3. pl. m. पढालै^१, f. पढाली^१.

k) Perfect 1. sg. masc. पढायल् बाटो^० or प^० होवो^० or पढाइल् ब^० or प^० ह^०, etc.

l) Pluperfect „ „ पढायल् रहलो^० or पढाइल् र^०, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.

पढात्, पढायल् or पढाइल्

Conjunctive.

पढाय् के

Adverbial.

पढातै, पढाइले or पढैले

Infinitives.

पढाब् or पढाइब्, पढाये के or पढैये के

Nouns of agency.

पढानिहार, fem. ^०री

11. IRREGULAR POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERBS.

532. There is only one anomalous case; viz. the verb खाब् *to eat*. It forms its potent. pass. root irregularly, viz. खिया; but the root, thus formed, is conjugated quite regularly. Observe also, that the verbs देब् *to give* and लेब् *to take* make their potent. pass. roots दिया and लिया (§ 482). The verbs आवब् *to come*, जाब् *to go* and होब् *to be* possess no potent. passive.

12. THE SIMPLE CAUSAL VERB.

533. The simple causal verb, as to the formation of which see § 474, is conjugated regularly like any other (active) verb in व्; provided that ^०आवी^० becomes आई (§ 33) and antepenultimate ^०आव^०, ^०आय^० become अउ or औ, अइ or ऐ (§ 34).

a) Present: *I cause to read* or *I teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढावैलो^० or पढावलो^०; pl. पढाइला, etc.

b) First pret.: *I caused to read* or *I taught*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढायो^०, 2. and 3. पढाइस्; pl. 1. पढाया, 2. पढायौ, 3. पढाइन्.

Second preterite.

1. sg. पढउलो^० or पढौलो^०; pl. पढउली or पढौली, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to read* or *I shall teach*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढइबो^० or पढैबो^० or पढउबो^० or पढौबो^०, 3. पढाई, etc.

Pl. 1. पढाइब् or पढाउब्, 3. पढइहै^० or पढहै^०, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to read*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढावो^०, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढाउ, 3. पढावै.

Pl. 1. पढाई^०, 2. पढावह् or पढाव, 3. पढावै^०.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढुतो or पढौतो, 3. पढावत् or पढौतै; pl. 1. पढाइत्, etc.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part.; provided only, that causal verbs, being trans., use the past part. in ले. Thus 3. sg. masc. imperf. पढावत् रहल् *he was causing to read* or *he was teaching*; again 3. sg. masc. perf. पढौले बाटे *he has caused to read* or *he has taught*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.

Conjunctive.

Adverbial.

पढावत् पढावल्

पढाय् के

पढौतै पढौले

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

पढाइब् or पढावब्, पढावै के or पढैबे के

पढौनिहार; fem. ०री

13. THE DOUBLE CAUSAL VERB.

534. The double caus. verb, as to the formation of which see § 477, is conjugated precisely like the simple causal verb (§ 533).

a) Present: *I cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढवावैलो or पढवावलो; pl. पढवाईला, etc.

b) First. pret.: *I caused to teach*, etc.

1. sg. पढवायो, 2. and 3. पढवाईस्; pl. 1. पढवाया, 3. पढवाईन्, etc.

Second preterite.

1. sg. masc. पढवउलो or पढवौलो, 3. पढवउलेस् or पढवौलेस्, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढवइबो or पढवैबो or पढवउबो or पढवौबो, 3. पढवाई, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. पढवावो, 2. पढवाव् or पढवावु or पढवाउ; 1. pl. पढवाई, etc.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. m. पढवउतो or पढवौतो, 3. पढवावत् or पढवौतै; 1. pl. पढवाईत्, etc.

Participles.

Infinitive.

पढवावत् पढवावल्

पढवाईब् or पढवावब्

14. THE PASSIVE OF THE SIMPLE AND DOUBLE CAUSAL VERBS.

535. Causal verbs cannot form the potent., but only the compound passive. The latter is formed and conjugated precisely like that of any other (active) verb. Thus, simple caus. pass. infinit. पढावल् ज्ञाब् *to be caused to read or to be taught*; and double caus. pass. inf. पढ्वावल् ज्ञाब् *to be caused to teach, and so forth.*

15. IRREGULAR CAUSAL VERBS.

536. 1) The verb खाब् *to eat* forms its simple causal लियावब् *to cause to eat or to feed*, and its double causal लियावावब् *to cause to feed*. Similarly the verbs लेब् *to take* and देब् *to give* form लियावब्, लियावावब् and दियावब्, दियावावब् respectively (§ 474, exc.).

2) The verbs आवब् *to come* and जाब् *to go* possess no causals. Instead of them, the intensitive compound verbs लेआवब् *to bring (= to cause to come)* and लेजावब् *to remove (= to cause to go)* are used (see § 538, a). These two compound verbs are conjugated precisely like the two simple verbs आवब् and जाब्. Thus their infin. pass. are लेआयल् जाब् *to be brought* and लेजायल् जाब् *to be removed*.

3) Of the verb होब् *to be* there is no causal in use, whether simple or double, active or passive.

FOURTH CHAPTER. COMPOUND VERBS.

537. Compound verbs are made by adding to the principal verb, which takes the form of the conj. part. (§ 490) or the oblique infin. (§ 485) or the adj. part. (§ 486), certain auxiliary verbs. In conjugating, the latter only are inflected, while the former remains unchanged.

538. The verbs most commonly used as auxiliaries to form such comp. verbs are :

a) For making *intensitives*; देब् *to give* (implying intensity), डालब् *to throw* (violence); आइब् *to come* and जाइब् *to go* (completion); पड़ब् (or W. H. पड°) *to fall* (chance); उठब् *to rise* (suddenness); लेब् *to take* (reflexiveness). In such intensitive comp. verbs the auxil. verb has no significance of its own, but merely serves to modify the meaning of the principal verb. The latter takes the form of the conj. part. Thus, फेक्कब् *to throw*, but फेक्क् देब् *to throw away*; तोरू डालब् *to break into pieces*, from तोरब् *to break*; बन आइब् or बन जाइब् *to be made up, completed*, from बनब् *to be made*; खाय् जाइब् *to eat up*, from खाइब् *to eat*; आय् पड़ब् *to come accidentally, to turn up*, from आइब् *to come*; बोल् उठब् *to speak suddenly*, from बोल्तब् *to speak*; कार् लेब् *to cut for oneself*, from कारब् *to cut*; रब् लेब् *to place for oneself, to lay by*, from रब् *to place*.

b) For making *continuatives*; रहब् *to remain* and जाइब् *to go*. In composition with रहब्, the principal verb may take the form either of the conj. or the adj. pres. part.; in conjunction with जाइब्, it may have only the form of the latter participle. Thus, बइह रहब् or बइठत् रहब् *to continue sitting*; again पठत् जाइब् *to continue reading*.

c) For making *frequentatives*; करब् *to do*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ै करब् or पढ़बे क° *to read often*; आवै करब् or अइबे क° or ऐबे क° *to be in the habit of coming*.

d) For making *potentials*; सकब् *to be able*, जानब् *to know*. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. or, less usually, of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ सकब् or पढ़ै स° or पढ़बे स° *to be able to read*; खइबे जानब् or खैबे ज° *to be able to eat*.

e) For making *completives*; चुकब् *to finish*. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. Thus पढ़ चुकब् *to finish reading*, खाय् चुकब् *to finish eating*.

f) For making *desideratives*; इहाब् (or चाहब्) *to wish*. The principal verb takes the form of the adj. past part. or the obl. infin. Thus, पठल् इहाब् or पढ़ै इ° or पढ़बे इ° *to wish to read*.

Very often these derivatives are idiomatically used to express merely *immediate futurity*, as घड़ी बजल् छाहत् बारै *the clock is about to strike*; बेरू बिसबे छाहैला *the time is about to pass*.

g) For making *inchoatives*; लगब् *to be applied* and होइब् *to become*. The latter occurs only in the past tense भयल् *he became*, and, in composition with it, the principal verb takes the form of the adj. pres. part., as पढ़त् भयल् *he began to read*. With लगब् it takes the form of the obl. inf., as पढ़ै लगब् or पढ़बे ल° *to begin to read*.

h) For making *permissives*; देब् *to give*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ़ै देब् or पढ़बे देब् *to allow to read*; आवै देब् or आवबे द° or ऐबे द° *to allow to come*.

i) For making *acquisitives*; पाइब् *to obtain*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ़ै पाइब् or पढ़बे प° *to be allowed to read*.

539. *Affinities and Derivation*. 1) The form of the principal verb in intens., contin., potent. and complet. compound verbs is not, as sometimes said (see Kl. 188—191. Eth. 102. 103. Ld. 70), the root of the verb, but the conj. part. This can be clearly seen in E. H., especially in the case of verbs with vocal roots, where the root and the conj. part. have different forms; e. g., *to eat up* is खाय् (conj. part.) खाइब्, not खा (root) खाइब्; but also in others; e. g., फेंके देब् or फेंक् द° *to throw away*. In fact, these compounds literally mean *to come after having eaten*; *to give after having thrown*. Thus, लेआवै lit. means *to come after having taken*, i. e., *to bring*; पढ़े चुकब् or पढ़ च° *to give up after having read*, i. e., *to have done with reading*. The H. H., too, has preserved the full conj. part. form in its causals, where it optionally adds य् to roots in घा (see Kl. 188. 192); e. g., बताय् देना or बता द° *to show*. Again O. H. always uses the conj. part. in its original form in इ; as पढ़ि चुकन् *to have done reading*. Finally M. uses in these compounds the conj. part. in उन्; e. g., टाकून् देपो° *to cast away*, घेउन् येपो° *to bring*, lit. *having taken* (from घेपो° *to take*) *to come* (see Man. 92); and likewise B. uses the conj.

part. in इया, G. in ई, S. in ई or ए, O. in इ; e. g., B. खाइया चूकन् *to have done eating* (S. C. 193); G. नाखी देवुं *to throw away* (Ed. 113); S. बही बजणु *to take off*, करे चुकणु *to have done doing* (Tr. 339. 342), O. करि थाउँ *I am in the habit of doing* (Sn. 42). In the ordinary P., as in H. H., the form of the conj. part. does not differ from that of the root; e. g., बाच् सकणा *to be able to read*, खा हटणा *to finish eating* (Ld. 70, d). — 2) As regards those compounds in which the principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin., the latter is the acc. case of the infin. governed by the auxil. verb. Thus पढै करब् *to read often* is lit. *to do reading*, मरबै इहब् *to be about to die* is lit. *to desire dying*. This is clearly seen from the O., which actually adds the acc. affix कु to the obl. inf. मरिबा कु चाहि *I desire to die*, करिबा कु लगि *I begin to do* (Sn. 41. 12). The termination of the obl. inf. is बा in G., इया in P., पा in S.; e. g., G. जोबा लग्यो *he began to see* (Ed. 51), P. पढिया करदा *he is in the habit of reading* (Ld. 70, e), S. रुअण लगणु *to begin to cry* (Tr. 344, 4). The B. alone forms an exception, in using the obl. form of the pres. part. in इते (or the adverbial part.) in the place of the obl. inf.; e. g., B. मरिते चाहि *I desire to die*, करिते पारि *I am able to do* (S. Ch. 192, 4. 5). Kellogg's conjecture (p. 192), that the H. H. form in आ (as पढा करना *to be in the habit of reading*) is not the masc. sing. of the past part. but a „gerund“ (i. e., obl. infin.) and identical with the B. obl. inf. in आ (S. C. 149), is quite true. — 3) In those compounds, where the principal verb is in the form of an adj. part., the latter really stands in the position of a *predicate* to the subject or object of the (auxil.) verb. Thus उ पढत् ज्ञात् बाटै *he continues reading* is lit. *he is going as a reader*, or उ मरल् चाहत् बाटै *he wishes to die* is lit. *he wishes (himself) as dead*. It appears, therefore, that, strictly speaking, none of these so-called compound verbs are really compounds, but in every case the part. or infin. of the principal verb is in ordinary grammatical construction of some sort with the (so-called) auxil. verb. — 4) These various comp. verbs occur in all Gd. languages, and are generally

formed in the same way, though sometimes a different auxil. verb is used. Thus B. and O. use पारू *cross* for सक् in potent. (S. Ch. 192, 4. Sn. 41, 2), B. थाक्, O. था *stand* for रह् in contin. and for करू in frequent. (S. Ch. 191, 1. 192, 3. Sn. 42); P. has हट् *with draw*, S. बट् *take*, beside चुक्, in complet. (Tr. 342, c. Ld. 70, d); S. वज् *go* for जा in intens. (Tr. 339, a). One exception has been already mentioned in Nro. 2. — 5) Traces of these comp. verbs already occur in Prākṛit. Thus there are desideratives in the *Bhagavatī*, made by constructing the R. इच्छ *wish* with the past part. pass. in इय; e. g., इच्छामि सयम् एव मुंडावियं सयम् एव सिक्खावियं सयम् एव धम्मम् आइक्खियं, i. e., *I wish myself to shave, myself to instruct, myself to teach the law*, E. H. चाहो^१ आपही मूँउल् आपही सिखावल् आपही धाम् कै आयसु दिहल्. See Wb. Bh. 275. 433¹).

FIFTH SECTION. INDECLINABLES.

540. There are four kinds of indeclinables or words incapable of inflexion: 1) adverbs, 2) postpositions, 3) conjunctions, 4) interjections.

1. ADVERBS.

541. Adverbs may be either nominal, pronominal, numeral, verbal or original, according as they are derived from nouns, pronouns, numbers, verbs or from none of these. Again each of these classes may be divided into adv. of time, place and manner. Most adv. are native Hindī, but there are a very few of foreign

1) आइक्खियं may be derived from R. आ-दीज् (or आ-दिज्, for Skr. आ-दिष्, cf. Pr. देव्व = दृज्, for Skr. दृष्) „to instruct, to initiate“. — The E. H. root चाह् or चाह् may be better derived from the noun इच्छा, by the loss of initial इ and the transfer of the aspiration of छ् (§ 182). Thus Skr. *इच्छायति, Pr. इच्छायइ, Gd. छाए or चाहै or छाहै. Accordingly § 173 should be corrected.

origin, whose native equivalents are obsolete. Again most adv. consist of only *one* word; but there are some that consist of a phrase or of a repetition of the original word. The following list of adv. lays no claim to completeness. The Sanskrit or foreign source of each is added in brackets.

542. *Nominal adverbs of time.* 1) नर्सौ^० *four days ago* or *four days hence* (for चर्सौ^०? Skr. चतुर-श्वस्); तर्सौ^० *three days ago* or *three days hence* (Skr. त्रि-श्वस्); परसौ^० *the day before yesterday* or *the day after to-morrow* (Skr. पर-श्वस्); काल् or काल्ह or काल्हि *yesterday* or *to-morrow* (Skr. कल्य); विहान् *to-morrow, at daybreak* (Skr. विभात); आज् or अजवा *to-day* (Skr. अद्य); अतौ^० *hitherto* (Skr. अद्यापि); पर्यार *the past year* (Skr. पर-काल or पर-वार, cf. §§ 69. 30); तर्के or भिनुसार *at daybreak, at down* (W. H. तडके, Skr. तटक, भिन्-वासर); नित् *always* (Skr. नित्य); आगू or आगे *before* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पाछू or पाछे or पाछै^० *afterwards* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पुन् or फुन् or फिन् (§§ 61. 131) or बहुरि *again* (Skr. पुनर्, बहु); निदान् *lastly* (Skr. दतो). — 2) *Adverbial phrases*; ओ दिन् or पर के दिन् *yesterday* (lit. *that day* or *day of before*); लोहिया लागत् (lit. *becoming red*) or आँधसुधारे (lit. *on clearing off of darkness*) *at down, early*; दिन् चहू के (lit. *the day having risen*) *late in the morning*; सब् दिन् *always* (lit. *every day*); बहुत् बेर *frequently*; एक् बेर *once* (etc., see § 409); आज् काल् or एन्हन् दिन् *now-a-days*. — 3) *Repetitions*; दिन् दिन् *every day*; कबही^० कबही^० or कब्बो^० कब्बो^० *sometimes*; बार बार *frequently*. — 4) *Foreign*; आखिर *lastly* (arabic آخر).

543. *Nominal adverbs of place.* 1) आगारी or आगार^० *before* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); पछारी or पछार^० or पछवारे or पिछ^० *behind* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); उपरिया *above* (Skr. उपरि); नीचू or निचइया *below* (Skr. नीच, of नि-अंच्); समुह् or सामुह् *in front* (Skr. सम्मुख); बहिरि or बहिर^० *without* (see § 217, p. 110); बीचे or बीचू *amidst* (Skr. वृत्य, of वृ surround, cf. § 374, p. 223, or from वि-अंच् surround); नगीच् or नगीचै (see § 545) or नियरे or नेरे or नियर *near* (Skr. निकट, cf. § 104); काँट् or लामे *far* (see §§ 172. 144); सबत्र *every where* (Ap. Pr. सबत्र, Skr. सर्वत्र). — 2) *Phrases*; काले कोस् *far* (lit. *some*

miles = W. H. कित्ते कोस्, Skr. कियत्-क्रोश, Pr. काला, H. C. 3, 65, cf. §§ 438, 4. 464).

544. *Nominal adverbs of manner.* 1) अचानक् (Skr. अचेतनक?) or संजोग (Skr. संयोग) *accidentally, suddenly*; अलग् *separately* (Skr. अलग्न); बहुत् *much* (Skr. बहुत्र); हाली or हलदे or तुरन्त् *quickly* (see § 545); तावर्तोर् *very quickly*; साँचे *truly* (Skr. सत्य); अकार्थ् (§ 545) or बिथी (Skr. वृथा) *in vain*; नीमन् (Skr. नियमन?) or नीके (persian نیک) *well*; निर्फुल् or केवल् *merely* (Skr. दतो); बड़ *very* (§ 145, exc. 2); सभिहैँ or सम्मैँ *altogether* (Skr. सर्व). — 2) Phrases; कर्म से *accidentally* (lit. *by fate*); आपुस् से *mutually*; similarly, by adding रीति से or भाँति से or तरह (arab. طرح) *in ... manner*, adverbs may be formed from any adj., as भली रीति से *in a good manner, well*. — 3) Repetitions; अलग् अलग् *severally*; रसे रसे or गवैँ गवैँ or धीरे धीरे or कले कले *slowly, by and by*; साची साचा *truly*; लग् भग् *almost*; फूँठ् मूँठ् *falsely*; सचे मुच् *surely*. — 4) Foreign; जरूर *necessarily* (arab. ضرور); जलदी *quickly* (pers. خلدی); कम *a little* (pers. کم); खाली *only* (pers. خالی); अदब् दै के *especially* (lit. *giving respect*; arab. ادب); आस्ते आस्ते or अस्ते अस्ते *slowly* (pers. آهسته).

545. *Derivation.* Adverbs in ए or ऐ or ई are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in अहिं, as explained in §§ 77, exc. 378. — Adverbs in उ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. sing. in अहुं, see §§ 78, exc. 376. 378. — Adv. in इ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in ए or इ, see §§ 45. 378; e. g., Skr. कल्ये, Pr. कल्ले, Ap. कल्ले or कल्लि, E. H. कालि or कालिह. — Adv. in a quiescent are modif. of the Ap. Pr. acc. sg. or loc. sg.; see §§ 41. 45; e. g., Skr. कल्यं, Pr. कल्लं, E. H. काल्; the latter, however, might have arisen by the quiescence of the final इ in the Ap. Pr. कल्लि or E. H. कालि. — The element 'सौ' (in परसौ, etc.) appears to be the contraction of an Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. सहुं (see § 376), of सो (Skr. श्वः), formed irregularly after the analogy of nouns (e. g., abl. दिवसहुं, of दिवसो *day*). — E. H. अजवा is derived with the pleon. suff. अवा from आज्, and अजवा is contr. to आज्, see § 199. — E. H. भिनुसार contains an anomalous meta-

thesis of आ, if it is correctly derived from Skr. भिन्नासार „broken day“, „day-break“; whence Pr. *भिन्नवसार or *भिन्नोसार, E. H. भिनुसार. — In फिन् and फुन् the फ् and इ are, perhaps, assimilations to फिर (§ 547); S. has regularly पिस्सि or पुस्सि or पुष्पु (Tr. 410). — E. H. बहुरि is formed by the addition of the pleon. suff. र् to Skr. बहु, just as in E. H. बाहिरि, see §§ 543. 217. — E. H. अगार, पकार, etc. contain the pleon. suff. अउअ (i. e., क + उ + क), as explained in §§ 210. 217. — E. H. उपरिया and निचर्या contain the pleon. suff. र्या, see § 199. — E. H. नगीच् is, probably, a corruption of the persian نزدیک, which may be heard in Hindī as नज़ीक् (see § 21, 2), and whence by transposition (see § 133) would arise नगीज़्; the क् being now medial, is regularly softened to ग्, see § 102. — E. H. हाली and हलदे are really W. Gd. adverbs; the former is the conj. part., the latter the obl. form of the pres. part. of the verbal root हल् (M.), हल् (P.), हल् (S.), हिल् or हल् (H.) *move, go*. Thus conj. part. S. हली (Tr. 313), pres. part. हलन्दे (Tr. 313), P. हल्लदे. — E. H. तुरन्त् is the pres. part. of the verbal root त्वर् or तूर् *be quick*. — E. H. अकार्थ is regularly derived from the Skr. अकृतार्थ *having one's object not done, unsuccessful*, Pr. अकअत्य or Ap. Pr. अकअर्थ, whence contr. E. H. अकार्थ or अकार्थ (see §§ 137. 138).

546. The *pronominal* and *numeral adverbs* have been already enumerated in §§ 467—469 and in §§ 402. 417. 419 respectively.

547. *Verbal adverbs*. Many conjunctive participles may be used as adverbs; e. g., फिर or फिर के *again* (Skr. परि-इ *go round*), मिलि or मिल् के *together*, जान् के *knowingly*, हाली *quickly* (§ 545), etc. By the addition of the conj. part. क्य् के or कै के *having done* to nouns, adjectives and numerals adverbial phrases may be formed; e. g., खुसी क्य् के *gladly* (lit. *having made joy*); एक् एक् कै के *singly* (lit. *having made one by one*), etc.

548. *Particles of affirmation and negation*. The former are तौ or तौ तौ or जौ or हौ or हौँ *yes*, काह् or काहे lit. *why not*. The latter are न or नाह् or नाहि or नाही or नाहिन् *no, not*.

The prohibitive particle is जिन् *do not*, used with the imper. only. Thus ऐसन् जिन् करहु *do not act thus*, but ऐ० न or नाँही० क० *you do not act thus*.

549. *Affinities and Derivation.* तौ is a contr. of the Pr. ताव (Vr. 4, 6), Skr. तावत्. — E. H. तौ, S. तौउ (Tr. 419) is the Skr. तौव, used (like Skr. आत्मा, E. H. आप्) as a term. of respect and, hence, of assent; cf. the English „sir“. — The other affirm. and negat. particles were originally various forms of the auxiliary verb „to be“. Thus E. H. हौ and हौ०, S. हउ or हौ (Tr. 418), B. हौ or हूँ (S. Ch. 218) are the 1. sing. pres.; see § 514, 4. The 3. sing. pres. occurs in S. अहि (Tr. 418) and M. होय् (Man. 101). B. also uses the 3. sing. pres. बटे of the other auxil. verb, see § 514, 1. The particles नाँह or नाँहि are compounds of the negative particle न and the 3. sing. pres. आहि *he is* (§ 514, 4); similarly नाँही० and नाहिन् are compounds of न and the 3. plur. pres. आही० and अहिन्; नाहिं occurs in Pr. (H. C. 4, 419). As to the anunásika preceding ह्, see § 67. All these particles, however, are now used without respect to the person and number originally expressed by their form. — Instead of the E. H. जिन्, W. H. uses मन् or मति, S. म (Tr. 415), G. मा (Ed. 115); in Pr. मा or मं or म (H. C. 4, 418), Skr. मा.

550. *Particles of emphasis.* These are ई or ही *only*, very and उ or हूँ *also*. They are always used enclitically and often coalesce with the final अ of the principal word to ऐ or ओ. E. g., क बाबू एह पारी खाली राबै बनवैब की गूरौ। i. e., *what, father! shall you, this time, make only syrup or also molasses*; here राबै = राब ई, and गूरौ (or गूजो) = गूर उ.

551. *Affinities and Derivation.* ई is, perhaps, connected with the Skr. एव, Pr. वेअ or विअ (Vr. 9, 3); but as the true Pr. form is चेअ, चिअ (H. C. 2, 184), the derivation is doubtful. O. has इ or हिँ or हे० (Sn. 48), M. ही (Man. 101), H. H. ही. — E. H. उ, B. ओ (S. Ch. 237) are modifications of the Pr. वि, Skr. अपि (or उपि); Pr. has also पि (H. C. 2, 218); S. preserves both बि and पि (Tr. 410), and even aspirates भि or भी (Tr. 410); so also H. H. भी.

552. *Particles of interrogation.* क *what*; e. g., क बाबू! का करैल। i. e., *what, father! what are you doing?*

553. *Affinities and Derivation.* S. uses कि or की (Tr. 418), B. कि (S. Ch. 218), W. H. कि, क्युं. They are all connected with the interrogative pronom. base, see §§ 437, 5. 467, d.

2. POSTPOSITIONS AND AFFIXES.

554. Postpositions supply in E. H. (and Gd. generally) the place of *what*, in other languages, are prepositions. They are placed after the noun or pronoun which they govern; and the noun or pronoun takes the oblique form with or without the genitive affix कै or के. Postpositions constructed without a gen. aff. are *affixes* (§ 374, p. 222).

555. The following postpositions are commonly constructed without a gen. aff.; तरे *beneath* (Skr. तल *bottom*); पाहीँ (§§ 77, exc. 116. 375) or कने (§ 375) *at, near*; माँ or माँहीँ or माँक् *in, within* (§ 378); ले (conj. part. of R. लम् *take*) or तक् (dto of R. तक् *see*) *till*; संगे or संग् *with* (Skr. सङ्ग); काहीँ *towards* (§§ 375. 116).

556. The following postpositions are commonly constructed with a gen. aff.; लगि *near, at* (§ 374); साथे *with* (Skr. संस्य); सनती (often spelled सन्ती, cf. § 6, note) or पलटे *instead of* (§ 557); बाटे or बारे or बरे or बदे *for, by reason of* (§ 374); ओर (Skr. अवर) or मुहेँ (Skr. मुख) *towards*; नाईँ *like* (§ 557); besides many of the adverbs, enumerated in §§ 541—544. Also खातिर *for, by reason of* (arab. خاطر).

557. *Affinities and Derivation.* Most of these have mentioned in §§ 374 ff. — The origin of बाटे is obscure; it is probably derived from the Skr. वर्त *being*; cf. the Pashtu *vatah*; or perhaps it may be a corruption of the Urdú वास्ते (arab. واسطی), see § 143; it is peculiar to E. H.; the W. H. has लिये. — E. H. बदे is sometimes used like the arabic بدلى *in exchange for*. — E. H. सनती lit. *sacrifice, substitute*, see § 18, p. 23. — E. H. पलटे is Skr. पर्यस्ते *in return for*, see § 143. — नाईँ is probably connected with the root ज्ञा *know*; the Pr. has नाइ or नावइ (H. C. 4, 444).

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

558. *Copulative conjunctions*; अउ or औ or अ (§§ 5, b. 26) or औ *and*; पुन् or पुनि or फुनि or फिन् *moreover*; का — का *as well — as*.

559. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. औ, अ, Bs. औ or ओ is the Pr. अवर् or Ap. अवह, Skr. अपर्; B. has आ (S. Ch. 237), Br. अह, H. H. औ, P. अ (Ld. 71), N. र. The latter rejects the initial अ (of अ) and is used enclitically; e. g., उन् ले ज्ञाने — र भन्या *he knew and said*, or उठ — र माँक मा उभि *get up and stand in the middle!* — E. H. अउ or औ, B. ओ, also compounded आओ or आओ (S. Ch. 237), O. आउ or ओ (Sn. 46), M. व (Man. 103), Br. ओ, S. अउ (Tr. 410), are, probably, the Pr. अवि (H. C. 1, 41), Skr. अवि or अपिच. — S. has also अइ or ऐ (Tr. 410), P. अति or ति, O. H. (Chand) ति = Pr. अइ or ति, Skr. अति. — M. has also आषि or आषी (Man. 103), G. अने or ने (Ed. 117); they are probably the Pr. अस् or अन्, Skr. अत्यत् or अन्यच्च lit. *another*. — E. H. पुनि, etc. (§§ 61. 131), O. पुणि (Sn. 46), S. पुणि or पिणि or पुणु (Tr. 410), are the Pr. पुणो or पुणु (Spt. 276. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. पुनर्. — W. H. has क्वा — क्वा *as well — as*, S. तिअ — तिअ (Tr. 410).

560. *Adversative conjunctions*; अकि or अकि or अक् (§ 561), लेकिन (arab. لیکن), पर वै, अन् *but*.

561. *Affinities and Derivation*. अकि etc. are corruptions of the Persian بلکہ, see § 143; W. H. अलकि, अकि, अलुक् (Kl. 276), P. अक् (Ld. 71). — E. H. पर is the Skr. परम्, Pr. पर्; also W. H., P., S. पर; on E. H., W. H. वै see § 124; P. has also अपर् or ऐपर् (Ld. 71) = Skr. अपरम्. — E. H. अन्, W. H. अण, P. अर् is Skr. अम् or अणम्. — W. H. has also मगर, P. मगवौ or मगो (Ld. 71), S. मगरि (Tr. 412) = Pers. مگر. — O. has पुणि (Sn. 46), M. पण (Man. 103), G. पण (Ed. 117), S. पण (Tr. 412) = Pr. पुणु, Skr. पुनर्. — N. has तर, also M. तर (Man. II, 26), probably a corruption of Skr. तर्हि (or of तर्म् *beyond, across*). — S. has also बिगिरि (Tr. 412), a corruption of the arab. بغیر; also हयौ or हयो (Tr. 413), apparently connected with Skr. हस्त. — H. H., H. B., etc. use the Skr. परन्तु, किन्तु, etc.

562. *Disjunctive conjunctions*; *ओ* or *की* or, *either-or*; e. g., क! ई लेबह् की उ *will you take this or that*; बड़ेरा ओ बड़ेरी *a colt or a filly*; न — न or न तौ — न *neither-nor*; e. g., न तौ ई लेबो न उ *I shall take neither this nor that*; चाहै — चाहै or की — की *whether-or*; e. g., चाहै ई ले चाहै उ *take either this or that* (2. sg. imp.) or *whether he take this or that* (3. sg. pres. conj.).

563. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. ओ is the Pr. व or वा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. वा; H. H., H. B., H. O., etc. have वा, also अथवा; the latter is preserved in O. अवा, contr. form Pr. अहवा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. अथवा. — E. H. की, B. कि (S. Ch. 240), O. कि or कि अवा (Sn. 46), M. की (Man. 103), W. H. कि, P. के or अके (Ld. 71), S. कि or की (Tr. 412), N. कि are probably the Pr. किं, Skr. किम् *what*. — E. H. चाहै is the 3. sg. pres. conj. of the verb चाहब् *to desire*. — B. also uses ह्य-न्य *either-or* (S. Ch. 240), S. तोड़े-न त or तोषो-न त or तौ-तौ (Tr. 412); B. ना-ना or न्य-न्य *neither-nor* (S. Ch. 240), P. ना-ना (Ld. 81). — S. has तौ or (Tr. 412). — W. H. and P. also use या, arabic لا (Kl. 275. Ld. 71).

564. *Conditional and concessive conjunctions*; तौ or तै *if*, तौ *then*; तौ *although*, तबो *yet, nevertheless*.

565. *Affinities*. 1) *Condit.*; B. तदि — तबे or तो (S. Ch. 238), O. तेबे — तेबे (Sn. 46), M. तर् — तर् (Man. II, 17), W. H. तौ or तो — तौ or तो, P. ते or ते कर — तौ (Ld. 71), G. ते or तो — तो (Ed. 117), S. ते or ते कर — त or तौ (Tr. 417), N. भन्या — ता. — 2) *Concess.*; B. तदिओ — तबेओ or तबुओ or तर् (S. Ch. 240), O. तेबे — तेबे or तेबेहे (Sn. 46), M. तरी or तरी — तरी or तरी (Man. II, 17), W. H. (Br.) तौ हूँ — तौ हूँ (Kl. 275), P. भावे — तौ भी (Ld. 71), S. तोड़ or तोषो or ते or ते तोड़ or ते तोषो — त or तौ or त बि or तडेही बि (Tr. 411), N. ता — तर्.

566. *Derivation*. 1) *Condit.*; a) Skr. यदि (or यदा), Pr. तद् (Vr. 1, 11), E. H. तै, P., S. ते. — b) Skr. यर्हि (Pr. तर्हि?), M. तर्; similarly Skr. तर्हि (Pr. तर्हि?), M. and N. तर्. — c) Skr. यावत्, Pr. ताव (H. C. 1, 11) or ताम्ब (H. C. 4, 395) or तेम्ब (H. C. 4, 401), E. H. and W. H. तौ, G. तो or S. तौ (see § 563) or O. तेबे (§ 468, c); similarly Skr. तावत्, Pr. ताव or ताम्ब or तेम्ब, E. H., W. H. तौ, B., W. H., G. तो or P. तौ, S. तौ or (shortened) त,

N. ता or O. तेबे, B. (shortening ए) तबे. — d) The N. भन्या is the conj. part. of the verb भननु *to say* (Skr. भणित्वा), and is always placed at the end of the conditional sentence; thus, बाँहाँ कल्याण को पुत्र छ भन्या, ता तिमिहेरु को कल्याण उस् मायि रहला छै; न भन्या, ता फरू कि छाउला, i. e., *if (lit. having said that) a son of peace be there, then your peace will remain upon him; if not, then it will again come.* — 2) The concessive conj. are made by adding to the condit. conj. some emphatic particle (see § 550); thus a) ओ or उ in B. जदिओ, Ap. Pr. जदिवि, Skr. यद्यपि; B. तबेओ = Pr. तेम्बइ वि, Skr. तावत्यपि (loc. sg.); B. तबु, E. H. तब्बो for तब्ब + उ. — b) हूँ in W. H. जौ हूँ, तौ हूँ. — c) ईँ or होँ in M. जरीँ or जरी for जरि-ईँ, तरीँ or तरी for तरि-ईँ. — d) बि or भी in S. ज बि, P. ताँ भी, H. H. तौ भी. — e) The emph. particle is reduplicated in O. तेबेहेँ for ते-बे-हेँ, S. तउेहीँबि for तउे-हीँ-बि. — f) The P. भावेँ is the Skr. भावेन *indeed, truly*; similarly N. uses ता, E. H., W. H. etc. तौ or तो; e. g., N. म ता परमेश्वर देखि उराउँदि न, तरू म दिउँला, i. e., *I indeed am not afraid of god, yet I shall give.*

567. *Causal and final conjunctions*; a) जौ or जेहूँ से *since*, तौ *therefore*. — b) जेहूँ से or तेहूँ से *therefore*. — c) काहे की *because, for*. — d) जेहूँ से *in order that, so that*. — e) का जाने *lest*. — f) नाहीँ तौ *else, otherwise (lit., if not, then)*.

568. *Affinities and Derivation*. a) B. जाइ — ताइ or ताइ ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जेणु — तेणु (Sn. 46), W. H. जिस् तेँ — तौ, P. जाँ — ताँ, S. जो — सोँ or जेलौँ — तेलौँ, etc. (see Tr. 414. 415); not uncommonly paraphrased, e. g., B. and O. जे हेतु — ते हेतु, M. ज्यपक्षीँ — त्यापक्षीँ, N. जस् कारण — तस् कारण, etc. — b) B. एमत् से or एमन् से, O. एणु, एनिमन्ते, M. त्यास् or ह्यणुन्, W. H. जिस् तेँ or तिस् तेँ, P. ताँ, S. सो (Tr. 415); or paraphrased, e. g., B. ए जन्ये, ए निमित्ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जे हेतु (Sn. 46), N. यस् कारण, etc. — c) B. केनना, M. काँकीँ, W. H. क्यौँकि or क्योँकि, H. H. क्यूँकि, N. क्यान्; or paraphrased, e. g., B. कारण कि, M. कारण कीँ, etc. — d) B. एमत् से, एमन् से (S. Ch. 238), W. H. जिस् तेँ, P. ताँ. — e) B. कि जानि, O. कि जाणि, H. H. क्या जाने, lit. *what do I or does he know*; or B. पाछे, lit. *afterwards* (S. Ch. 240); H. H. न हो कि, S. म छणे or म छणु, lit. *may*

it not be that (Tr. 415). — f) B. नय् तो or न तु वा or नहि ले or ने ले (S. Ch. 240), O. न तु, न तु वा, नोहि ला (Sn. 46. 125), M. नाहोँतर् (Man. 103), W. H. नाहीँ तौ, S. म तौँ (Tr. 415). — Most of these conj. have a pronom. origin which has been explained in §§ 437. 469.

4. INTERJECTIONS.

569. The following are some of the most usual interjections; हे or हो or ओ or अरे or रे in addressing; राम् राम् in greeting; क्षी क्षी *fie! for shame*, in remonstrance; थुरी थुरी (or थुजे थु) or थू थू *fit to be spitted on*, धिक्कार *fit to be cursed or abused*, in disgust or abhorrence; हा हा or अह ह or बापरे *ah! alas!*, in surprise or grief; वाह् वाह् in admiration; हाँय् हाँय् in sorrow; भला or अच्छा *well!* in consent; दुत् or दुर हो *be off!*; ले *lo!*

570. *Affinities and Derivation.* These interj. are common to all Gds. — Some occur in Pr.; e. g., छि छि and धिग् धिक् (H. C. 2, 174); थू थू (H. C. 2, 200), which, by adding the pleon. suff. री or जी, becomes थुरी थुरी; हा हा, अहह (H. C. 2, 217); अरे, रे (H. C. 2, 201); हे, हो (H. C. 2, 217?); हाँय् हाँय् is probably the Pr. and Skr. हा (H. C. 2, 192). — बापरे is probably बाप् रे *oh father!*

SIXTH SECTION. SPECIMENS OF EAST HINDÍ.

1. VOCABLES AND PHRASES.

571. The following nouns, current in E. H., are, I believe, not mentioned in any Hindí dictionary.

अददहा <i>weak</i>	इन्हन् ¹) <i>fuel</i> (of grass,	उत्तर ¹) <i>white</i>
अहिवाती <i>wife</i>	etc.)	ओअद् <i>wet</i>
इनारा <i>a well</i>	उत्तर ¹) or उत्तरबक् <i>rude</i>	ओट् <i>soft</i>

1) Bate in his Hindí dictionary gives: इन्हन्, उत्तरल, उत्तर.

कचलोह् <i>unripe</i>	जेवाय् <i>husband</i>	बीघ् <i>wolf (tiger?)</i>
करवात् <i>sweepings</i>	कूर <i>dry</i>	भइन् <i>sister</i>
करिया <i>black</i>	ठउर ¹⁾ <i>place</i>	भकुआ <i>simpleton</i>
कुन्ह ¹⁾ <i>enemy</i>	ठंई <i>coldness</i>	भयो <i>younger brother's wife</i>
कोहउडी <i>sweet pumpkin</i>	उरपोक ³⁾ <i>cowardly</i>	भयने <i>sister's son or husband's sister's son</i>
वनहन् <i>good</i>	उहर or डाँडी <i>footpath</i>	भिका <i>alms</i>
खबोर or खब्बू <i>glutton</i>	धूमीस् <i>dirty</i>	भौखार <i>beggar</i>
खरबुद् <i>sweepings</i>	निउरा or नेओरा <i>finished</i>	भुखर <i>hungry</i>
खरपात् <i>dried leaves</i>	निचाह् <i>solitary</i>	भुलकर <i>negligent</i>
गउदा or गबदा <i>fool</i>	नेबर <i>bad</i>	मंडवी <i>company</i>
गउही <i>cavity</i>	पागंडी ¹⁾ <i>footpath</i>	मटमइल् <i>dirty</i>
गदहाबसन्त ²⁾ <i>fool</i>	पताई <i>dried leaves</i>	मनई <i>man</i>
गर <i>heavy</i>	परसिया <i>neighbouring</i>	मनसेट् <i>man</i>
गँवई <i>village</i>	पाकर <i>clever</i>	मिरकुटहा <i>weak</i>
गोईठा <i>fuel of cowdung</i>	पराय् की बात ⁴⁾ <i>nonsense</i>	रचिक् <i>little</i>
गोहार <i>calling</i>	पालो <i>tree (branch?)</i>	लउर <i>long, heavy stick</i>
घटिहा <i>worthless</i>	पीयल् <i>yellow</i>	ललतहा <i>weak</i>
घमोच् <i>fool</i>	पूरा <i>village</i>	लेजुर or री <i>cord, string</i>
चउआ ¹⁾ <i>quadruped</i>	पेटास् <i>glutton</i>	संघत् <i>friendship</i>
चिपरा or री <i>fuel of cowdung</i>	पोका <i>wet</i>	संघती <i>friend</i>
चिरई <i>bird</i>	पोच् <i>bad</i>	सधुअई <i>honesty</i>
चीमर <i>hard</i>	फोट् <i>hard</i>	सुकाव् <i>sight</i>
चोक् <i>excellent</i>	बतोलिया <i>buffoon</i>	सुबोता or भीता <i>convenient</i>
झाईपोई <i>family, race</i>	बरधा <i>ox, bullock</i>	सूखल् <i>dry</i>
जावत् <i>all</i>	बाबू or बापू <i>father</i>	सेवर <i>unripe</i>
जावत् जावत् <i>every body</i>	बिगत् <i>individual</i>	हरियर ¹⁾ <i>green</i>
जूजस् or जूजी <i>coldness</i>	बिपत् महमा ⁵⁾ <i>miserable</i>	
	बिरई or बीरो <i>small plant</i>	

1) Bate in his H. dict.: कुन्ह, चौवा, ठौर, पागंडी, हरियर.

2) Lit., sitting on an ass.

3) Lit., wet with fear.

4) Lit., word of irrelevancy.

5) Lit., stricken with misfortune.

2. DIALOGUES¹⁾.

a) Between two friends.

1. Q. कह भाई! कहाँ से आवत् बाट? A. परसिया गाँव से आईला. —
 2. Q. उहाँ से कब चलल? A. भिनसारे कै चलल् हई. — 3. Q. काहे बदे उहाँ गयल् रहल? A. उहाँ एक् हमारू खेत् बाय्, ओके देखै के. —
 4. Q. ओमे का बोवले बाट? A. खाली¹ रहरू बोवल् बाय्. — 5. Q. कह, भैया, येह पारी के खेती कै हख! A. येह पारी के खेती कै हख का पूछत् बाट? दैव के बरसले² बिना बडा हरज³ भयल्. — 6. Q. आज् काल् तोहरे भाई नाही देखैलै⁴ है⁴. A. हमरे भाई आज् काल् किला⁵ मे नोकर⁶ बाटै⁶; एहरू बहुत् कम⁷ आवैलै⁷. — 7. Q. तोहरे बडकी गैया कै का खबर⁸ बाय्? A. बडकी गैया आज् काल् गाभिन् बाय्; कोयरू न मिलले² से दूट् गइल् बाय्. — 8. Q. गाभिन् भैले² कै महीना⁹ भयल्? A. भयल् तो आठ महीना, बाकि पेठ कुछ उभरल् नाही⁹ देख परत्. — 9. Q. कोरावत् बाय् की नाही? A. हाँ कुछ कुछ ज्ञान् परैला. — 10. Q. ई कौया बियान् हौ औ केतना दूध देले? A. ई अठवाँ बियान् होई; दूध एकबेर दुइ अठाई सेर देले. — 11. Q. हम के एक् बकरी खरीदै¹¹ के बाय्, से तोहरे गाव् पर मिल सकी? A. हमरे गाँव पर तो बकरी बाटी¹¹, लेकिन¹⁰ दाम बड तेज¹² बाय्. — 12. Q. तोहारू बकरिया काँ भइल्? A. हम चरै के बदे ओके गाँव¹¹ पर छोडले रहीला. — 13. Q. कुछ दूध देले? A. लडिकन् के पीयै भर के मिल जाला. — 14. Q. अबकी उख बोवले बाट की नाही? A. उख तो बोवले बाटी, बरकि ओ मे कुछ फाइदा¹³ नैखै. — 15. Q. तोहरे इहाँ से नारू मोट मँगनी मिल सकी? A. काहे¹⁴? भराई होय जाय, तब ले ल¹⁴. — 16. Q. तोहरे इहाँ कै पुरवट चलैला? A. तीन पुरवट नधले बाटी. — 17. Q. तोहरे आम के बरिया मे कुछ फर होला की नाही? A. अबकी तो बदरी से पेडन् मे लाही लग् गइल्; नाही तो बहुत् होत् रहल्. — 18. Q. थोड् आम हमहूँ के अँचार नाव के देत? A. जब तोहारू मन् होय, तब आय के तोडवाय¹⁵ ल्य. — 19. Q. तोहारू लडिकवा कुछ पठैला की नाही? A. हाँ, गुरु किहाँ¹⁶ जाला; अच्छार¹⁷ तो चीन्ह गयल् बाय्; आज् काल् पहाडा पछत् बाय्. — 20. Q. पाठसाले मे नाही बैठाय देत? A. कुछ पठ

1) The following specimens of village-conversations were given to me by Pandit Gopāl Bhaṭṭa of Benares. The spelling is his, excepting the *virāmas* and interpunctuations which I have added.

ले, तब् बठाय देई¹⁸. — 21. Q. हमहूँ अपने बेटौवा¹⁹ के पाठसाले मे बैठावल चाहिला. A. अच्छा! हमरे लड़िका के संगे ओहू के बैठाव दीख.

Notes: 1) pers. خالی. 2) adverb. past part. 3) arab. هرج. 4) 3. pl. pres. ind. of the potent. pass. 5) arab. قلعه. 6) pers. نوکر. 7) pers. کم. 8) arab. خبر. 9) pers. صہینا. 10) arab. لیکن. 11) pers. خرید, treated as a denom. root. 12) pers. تیز. 13) arab. فایده. 14) 2. pl. imperative; or ले लह or ले ल्यह. 15) conj. part. of the double caus. 16) contr. for के इहाँ. 17) anomalous plur. of अच्छर, apparently made after Urdu (arabic) analogy, as हुकाम orders, pl. of हुकम्. 18) 1. pl. pres. conj., used as future. 19) redundant form of बेटा.

b) Between master and servant.

1. Q. काल् लोहिया लागत् खेत् पुर जाये के होई. A. काहे के बदे? का, खेत् निरावे के? — 2. Q. हाँ, खेतौ निरावे के अउर बउके खेतवा मे हरौ चलावे के. A. कै मजूर¹ कै काम् बाय? — 3. Q. जैठे से सपरै, तैठे लगाय दीहे. A. धान् कै खेतवा भरहू के न होई. — 4. Q. कै दिन् मे भरल् जाई? A. दुइ दिन् कै काम् बाय. — 5. Q. लवहू कै दिन् तो आय गयल्. A. अच्छा, तब् ले चारू पाँच मेहरान् के ठहराय रक्खीला. — 6. Q. गैयन् के कोयूर दिहले, की नाही? A. घास् तो नाय दिहले रहली. — 7. Q. भूसौ लेआय के सानी चलाय दे; साँक् भइल्. A. बेर बिसवले, हम घरे² रोटी खाये जाब. — 8. Q. अच्छा, जब खाय के ऐहे, तब् गोहन् के ओसारी मे बाँध दीहे. A. तोहरे बदे ई बेरा का खाये के होई? — 9. Q. माई से कहे³ दीहे की रोटी पोय रखिहै. A. खाली¹ रोटियै खैब? — 10. Q. अउर का? दूध के संगे खाय लेब. A. दाल् न होखी? — 11. Q. राति के हम के दाल् नाही पचत्. A. जलदी खाये जैह! नाही तो रोटी जुगय⁴ जाई. — 12. Q. जा लेजा, तै तो जलदी⁵ खाय आव; बिना तोरे ऐले हम न जाबै. A. हम तो जातै आटी; खाय के हालियै आइब, — 13. Q. भला, बीया के बदे कोठिला मे कुछ जव बाय की नाही? A. न होई, तो बोरे भर के मोल् आय जाई. — 14. Q. केतना चाही बोवै के? A. एक छ पसेरी मे होय जाई. — 15. Q. काँकौ न चाही बोवै के? A. काँक् तो चाहै तोहरे बखार मे होय. — 16. Q. ई घरी दैव जो चारू बुन्दी कर दैतै, तो बड़ अच्छा होत्. A. देख! गोसैयाँ कै मरजी⁶ होई, तो बरस जैहै. — 17. Q. घरे! हाँ, काल् फारू के बदे थोरा लोहा खरीदै के बाय. A. केतना लोहा चाही?

तोहरे घर मे नैखै? — 18. Q. मतारी से पुछिहे तो. A. घाम तो पियरायल्
ब्रातै मे; साँक् भइल् चाहैले. — 19. Q. हो! देख! माई आवत् बाय्. A.
एह बेरा आवै कै कौन् काम रहल्? — 20. Q. ले! बेर बिसवै चाहैला;
तै जलदी⁵ जो! A. अच्छा, ले! तुहउं जा! दिसा जंगल् से निपट आव.

Notes: 1) pers. مزدور. 2) old loc. 3) conj. part. 4) conj.
part. of potent. pass. 5) pers. جلدی. 6) arab. مرضی.

c) Between two sisters.

1. Q. कह, बहिनी! एहवर कहाँ गइल् रहल्यू? A. रहिला कै साग
खोटे. — 2. Q. एह पारी तोहरे खेतवा मे खाली रहिलै बोवल बाय्?
A. नाही, मटर रहिला अउर बरै, तीन् चीज¹, बोवल बाय्. — 3. Q.
तोहार दुलहा आज् काल् कही² बाहर गयल् बाटे³? A. नाही, घरही तो
बाटे³, लेकिन खेत पर बहुत रहैलै⁴. — 4. Q. तूँ एसोइयाँ कब्र करैल्यू?
A. दुपहर के करीला; अब्र जाय के, तब्र करब. — 5. Q. तोहार बिटियवा
तो नीके बाय्? A. हँ, बाय् अच्छीतरह². — 6. Q. तोहार गैयवा³ कुछ दूध
देले की नाही? A. का कही² बहिनी? पहिले बियान् मे तो कुछ नाही दिहलेस्;
अबकी बियान् मे देखो² कुछ देले की नाही. — 7. Q. केतना दिन् बियैले⁴
भयल्? A. अबही² तो आज् पंचवाँ दिन् हौ; अबही² ओकर बकरा अछी
तरह² चल नाही सकत्. — 8. Q. खरी कराई पखेव अच्छी तरह² पाई, तो
दूध देई. A. देवै कै तो बिचार बाय्. — 9. Q. ओहे घरवा मे तुँहई³ अकेल्
रहल्यू⁵ की ओरो केहू रहैला? A. नाही, हमही² अकेल् रहीला, लेकिन चाहीला
की ओर केहू रहे जात्, तो मनसायन् होत्. — 10. Q. एको कोठरी हमरे
रहै लाइक्⁶ होय, तो हम के य. A. बाय्, लेकिन छोट बाय्, तोहार निबाह
ओ मे न होई. — 11. Q. भला! कब्रहू तोहरे परोस् मे होई, तो हम के
बतैह. A. काहे? जौने घरवा मे तूँ रहैल्यू, तौने मे कौनो दिकदारी⁷ बाय्? —
12. Q. दिकदारी कवन् बाय? भारा बहुत लगैला. A. अच्छा! तो आव, हमरे
ही घर मे रह; कौनो तरह² से निबाह होय जाई. — 13. Q. भला बहिन्!
बड़ किरपा कैल्यू; हम बहुत दिकदार⁷ रहली ओहे घर से. A. अच्छा! तो
कब्र से रहै के अइब? — 14. Q. अब्र तो खरवाँस् बितले बाद⁸ अच्छी साइत्
देखवाय के आइब. A. जरूर⁹ आवै कै विचार रहिह; हम अपने मनसेधू से
कहे के घर सफा¹⁰ करवाय रक्खब. — 15. Q. न जानी, खरवाँस् केतने दिन्
रही! A. रह! हमरे परोस् मे एक् पंडित रहैलै²; ओन्ह से पूछ के, तब्र तोह
से कहब.

Notes: 1) pers. چیز. 2) arab. طرح. 3) redundant form of

माई. 4) adverb. past part. of potent. pass. 5) shorter form of 2. pl. pres. ind. fem., for रहैल्यु. 6) arab. لايف. 7) arab. دق دارير. 8) arab. بعد. 9) arab. ضرور. 10) arab. صفا.

d) Between parents and son.

1. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! सवेर ही उह के उख कै खेत् देखै के जैह! A. अब तो तोरहू कै दिन् आयल्. — 2. Q. हाँ, लेकिन कोल्हू कै जाह दूह गइल् बाय्; से खरीदै के होई. A. केतने दाम पर मिली? — 3. Q. ओ कर जैसन् काह होय्, तैसन् दाम लगै. A. कतरी बाय्, की उहाँ खरीदल् जाई? — 4. Q. कतरियो तो नाही बाय्, लेकिन ओ करे भर के काह घर मे होई; बछई बलवाय् के बनवाय् लिहल् जाई. A. क बाबू? येह पारी खाली राबै बनवैब की गुरी? — 5. Q. नाही, दूनौ बनवाइब्. A. अब् हम् लाये जात् बाटी. — 6. Q. (Mother speaks): आव, बेटा, जलदी लाये के! A. आज् का रसोई कैले बाटिस्? — 7. Q. आज् रसोई मे दाल् रोटी अउर कोहउरी भइल् बाय्. A. दूध बाय् की नाही? — 8. Q. थोर एक होई बाय्; पूत् बाँट के लाय लीक! A. अच्छा! गोडू धोवै के पानी भेजवाय् दे! — 9. Q. हे! इहाँ लोटा मे पानी रक्खल् बाय्; गोडू धोव! A. बउकी थरिया मे हम् के परोसिहे! — 10. Q. अपने बापौ के बलाय ल्य! A. अच्छा! बलाय लेआईला; आव बाबू लाये! — 11. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! तू लाय ल्य, तब् हम पीछे से लाब. A. काँहे? — 12. Q. अबही अच्छी तरह से हम् के भूख नैलै. A. नाही! माई बलावत् बाय्. — 13. Q. अच्छा ले! आवत् बाटी. A. हे! गोडू धोवै के पानी धयल् बाय्. — 14. Q. अच्छा! परोसवाव! A. माई! रसोइयाँ आज् कौन् करत् हौ? — 15. Q. (Mother speaks): तोहार मेहर. A. ओ के रोटी फुलावै नाही आवत्. — 16. Q. नाही आवत्; तब्बो कधी नाही रहत्. A. पीठा धै दे! — 17. Q. तू आव, तो सहो! पीठा तो इहई रक्खल् बाय्. A. ले! बाबुओ ऐलै, हमहूँ ऐली; जलदी परोसै के कह. — 18. Q. परोस् दे रे! A. दुइ थरिया, छोटी बड़ी परोस्!

e) Between mother and boy.

1. Q. माई! लाये के दे! A. का कइबे? — 2. Q. का बाय् लाये के? A. रोटी बाय्; काहे से खइबे? — 3. Q. दूध बाय् की नाही? A. दूध तो कथा बाय्, लेकिन नैनू बाय्; कहु, तो देई; ओही से लाय ले! — 4. Q. नैनू दूध कै हौ की दही कै? A. नाही! आज् सबेरे दही गहे के निकलले

रहली. — 5. Q. लेआव्. A. खाली नैनुवै, की ओ मे कौनो मीठा मिलैबे? — 6. Q. कौन् मीठा बाटै? A. राबू लेआई की गुरू? — 7. Q. नाही! राबू लेआव्! गुरू हम् के नाही भावत्. A. अच्छा! ले! तै बैठु! हम् लेआईला. — 8. Q. जलदी लेआव्; नाही तो ऊ लरिकवा आय् जाई. A. तै गोड तो धोउ! हम् लेआईला. — 9. Q. दुइयै रोटी ले ऐहे! A. ई काहे? पेट भर लाय् ले! रसोइयाँ के अबही अबेर होई. — 10. Q. अच्छा! तीन दे! A. ले! खो!

f) Between two boys.

1. Q. का भाई! चलब खेलै के? A. अबही हम् खेली नाही; लाय् लेई, तब चलै. — 2. Q. कब खेलै? A. माई आवैले, तब जाईला¹. — 3. Q. तोहार माई कहाँ गइल् बाय्? A. गोरुन् के कोयूर देवै के. — 4. Q. तब ले चल; खेल् आई. A. कौन् खेल् खेलब? — 5. Q. लट्टू तोहरे पास बाय् की नाही? A. लट्टू तो बाय्; लत्ती नैवै. — 6. Q. आव! लत्ती बनाई. A. कपडा कहाँ बाय्? — 7. Q. कपडा बहुत मिली. A. लय! माइयो आइल्; अब् लाय् लेई; तब सुचिन् से खेली. — 8. Q. तब से हमहूँ घर से होय् आईला¹. A. तू काहे बदे धर जात् बाट? — 9. Q. धोर एक दूध धयल् बाय्; से हमहूँ पी आई. A. तोहरे² दूध होला? — 10. Q. हाँ, बाकेन्³ गैया कै दूध हो. A. अच्छा! जा! जलदी ऐह! — 11. Q. हम् तो गैली की ऐली. A. जा जलदी!

Notes: 1) 1. pl. pres. ind., for fut. ind. 2) old loc.; elliptic, for तोहरे पास. 3) pers. بلکے.

3. FOLKLORE.

a) The treasure in the field.

एक बडा आदिमी¹ अंगूर² कै बारी ओ खेत् बोवलेस्; ओके चार बेटवा रहलै; जब ऊ मरै लगल्, तब बेटवन् से कहलेस्; ए बेटा मोरे पास जवन् धन् रहल्, तौने के मै अंगूर के खेतवा मे गाड दिहले बाटो; से तूलोग् खनब, तो पडबह; जब ऊ आदिमी मरि गयल्, तब ओकर सब बेटौवा मिल के खेत् के चारो ओर से खनै लगलै³; लेकिन् धन् कै खोज न मिलल्; बाकी⁴ खेत् अच्छी तरह से खोदल् गयल्; ओ से अंगूर कै पेड खूब⁵ पनफलै; और खूब अंगूर कै फल् उपजलै; तब तो सब बेटा मिल के ओके बेचलै, और बहुत एक धन् पौलै; बडा खुस्⁶ भइलै; ऐसे हमलोगन् के ई बात सीखै के चाही, की बडा लोग् जौन् बात कहै तौने के जरूर मानै के चाही, टारै के न चाही; एही मे हमरे लोगन् कै कल्यान् होई; ई लज्जिकन् के सीखै के बदे कहनी होवै.

Notes: 1) arab. آدمی. 2) pers. انکور. 3) shorter form for लगलै, 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind.; see § 26. 4) pers. بلکه. 5) pers. خوب. 6) pers. خوش.

b) The two wise Brāhmans.

कौनो एक ब्राम्हन् रहल; ओके दुइ बेटा रहलै; उ ब्राम्हन् कौनो जग्य करै लगल; ओ मे एक मछरी कै काम परल; तब उ दूनो बेटोवन् से कहलेस्, की बेटा! तू दूनो जने समुद्र के तीर पर जाय के एक मछरी लेआवह; तब पिता कै आग्या पाय के दूनो समुद्र के तीर पर गेलेन्; और उहाँ के मल्लाह से कहलेन्, को हम के एक मछरी कै काम बाय, से तै पकड़ दे; तब मल्लाह एक मछरी बकाय के दुनहुन् के आगे लेआय के धै दिहलेस्; तब ओन्ह मे से एक दुसरे के कहलेस् की तै काहे नाँही उठाय ले चलतेस्; तब उ बोलल की मै भोजनचतुर बाटो; मो के ए कर गंध आवैले; तब उ बोलल की मैहू सयनचतुर हौओ; ऐसे न उठैवो; ऐसी¹ उन्ह दुनहुन् मे कगरा होवै लगल; आबिर² के दूनो लरत् लरत् राजा के पास गेलै और राजा के आपन् समाचार कहलै; तब राजा कहलेस्, की तू दूनो जने हम के परिच्छा यह; तब हम तोहर बिद्या जानी; उ दूनो खग³ भइलै परिच्छा देवै के; तब पहिले राजा भोजनचतुर कै परिच्छा लेवै बदे अच्छी रसोईयाँ बनवौलै; ओ मे अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी, अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर कै भात, अच्छा से अच्छा पकवान् रिँधवौलेन्; और भोजनचतुर के बलवाय⁴ के खाये के बैठौलेन्; तब उ जैसे हो भात कै कवर उठौलेस्, तैसेही ओ के ओ मे मुरदा⁵ कै गंध आयल; से उ थरिया छोड़ के उठ गयल; तब राजा ओ के पुछलै, की तै काहे नाही खैले और उठ गैले? उ कहलेस् की भात मे मुरदा कै गंध आवैले; तब राजा किसान के बलाय⁴ के पुछलेस् की चाउर कैसन् रहल और कहा से लेआय के तै मो के दिहले? किसान बोलल की आपन् खेत से; तब राजा पुछलेस् की उ खेत केकर हौ? तब किसान कहलेस् की ज़िमीदार⁶ से हम मोल् लिहले रहली; तब राजा ज़िमीदार के बलाय के पुछलेस्, की ई भूई कैसन् रहल? तब ज़िमीदार बोलल, की ई भूई मुर्दघटा पहिले रहल; तब राजा भोजनचतुर के कहलेस्, की तै ठीक् भोजनचतुर हौवे; फेर सयनचतुर के बोलाय के राजा एक अच्छी बिछवनादार खटिया बिछवाय दिहलेस्, और ओ के सूत के कहलेस्; उ सूतल; लेकिन् ओ के राति भर नींद नाँही आइल; एह कर बट से ओह कर बट, ओकर बट से एह कर बट करत रहल; सबेरे राजा ओ के बलौलेस्⁴, और कहलेस् की तै राति भर सुख से सुतले? उ बोलल की महाराज समस्त राति मोके नींद नाँही परल; राजा पुछलै काहे? उ बोलल कि बिछवना के परत

मे एक बार बाटै से मोरे देह⁷ मे गइत् रहल्; तब् राजा अपने नोकर से बिछावन् उठवाय् के देखलेस तो ओ मे एक बार देखायल्⁸; तब् राजा खुसी⁹ होय्के ओके कहलेस् कि तै¹ ठीक् सयनचतुर हौवे; ए करे बाद राजा उन् दुनहुन् कै बहुती तरह से खातिरदारी कै के बिदा कैलै² ॥

Notes: 1) हूँ and हौँ are emphatic. 2) arab. آخر. 3) lit. standing, here ready. 4) shorter form for बोलवाय्; see § 26. 5) pers. مرد. 6) pers. زميندار. 7) for देह, see § 67. 8) 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 9) pers. خوشی joy; here used adjectively, through confusion with adj., formed like सुखी; see § 253.

c) The unfortunate Bráhmán.

कौनो एक ब्राह्मन् सोमशर्मा कुसुमपुर गाँव मे रहत् रहल्; उ आपन् बियाह देवस्वामी केहू अपने परोसिया ब्राह्मन् को बिटिया से कैलेस्; से एक दिन् की बात हौ कि दूनो परानी अटारी पर सूतल् रहलै¹; एतने मे एक कौनो बियाधर ओही ओर से अकास् मे बिमान पर चढल् चल् जात् रहल्; से ओकर डीह ओहे मेहरारू पर पर गइल्; उ, ओकरे सुन्दरताई से मोहित होय्, नीचे उतर, ओके उठाय् लेगयल्; सवेरा भयल्, तब् सोमशर्मा अपने बिछौना के सून देख् अपने स्त्री के चारो ओर हेरै लगलै², लेकिन् पता न पौलै³; तब् तो बौरहा के तरह एहर ओहर धूमै लगलै⁴ और भुलै⁵; तब् केहू गिरस्थ² के घर जाय कहलै⁶ कि हम् के कुछ खाये के वदे य; उ अपने स्त्री से कहलेस् कि ब्राह्मन् भुखायल् बाय्, एके कुछ दे; उ रसोई⁷ मे जाय, एक दोना भर खीर ले आय् के, ब्राह्मन् के दिहलेस्; ब्राह्मन् उ खीर ले के एक नदी के तीर पर जाय, कौनो पेड़ के जड़ पर खीर कै दोना धै के, हाथ मुँह धोए के वदे नदी मे गयल्; तब् ले एहर ओहे पेड़ पर से एक करइत् साँप् उतर के, उ खीर थोरै⁸ खैलेस्, और ओ मे अपने मुँह से जहर⁴ उगिल् के, फेर ओही पेड़ पर चढ गयल्; तब् ले उ बेचारा ब्राह्मन् भुखायल् जलदी से आये के ओहे दोना कै सब खीर खाय गयल् और थोरी बेर मे जहर से बियाकुल् होय् के मुड़⁵ गयल् ॥

अब् एह कथा मे ई बिचारल् चाहौ कि ओ करे मुअले कै हत्या के के भइल्, ओहे गिरस्थ के, कि ओकरे मेहरारू के, कि ओहे साँप् के ॥

Notes: 1) 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 2) for गृहस्थ. 3) or थोरै, see § 291. 4) pers. زهر. 5) irregular conj. part. of the verb मरब् to die.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Note: The numbers refer to the pages.

A.

- Ablative* 216, = gen. 210, postpos. 225, sing. 199. 203. 210, plur. 199, suff. see suff., aff. see aff.
- Abstract nouns* see suff., are fem. see feminine.
- Accent of numer.* 252. 257—258, of pleon. forms 99. 100.
- Accusative* 216, sing. 208, proper 185. 186. 220. 300, = dat. = old gen. 196. 198, suff. see suff.
- Acquisitive verbs* 387.
- Active case* 217. 217—220. 221, voice 316, past tense 217, use of pass. 138. 145. 340; see also change of voice.
- Adjective* 231. 247—250. 263. 267. 268, form of 247. 248, gender 248—249, declension 249—250, compar. 250, in deris. sense 249, obl. form 249, pronom. 273. 302—310, part. 326.
- Adverbial phrases* 390. 391. 392, repetition 390. 391, part. see part.
- Adverbs* 389—394, pronom. 273. 310—316. 389. 392, nom. 389. 390—392, num. 389. 392, verb. 389. 392, original 389.
- Adversative conj.* see conj.
- Affiliation of Gd. Lang.* 217.
- Affinities of alphabets* 2, short vowels 4, nasalisation 6, palatals 7, cerebrals 8, nasals 11, semivowels 13, semicons. 17—24, sibilants 25, visarga 26, anusvára 27—31, masc. term. 37. 38. 40, fem. term. 41, neut. term. 42, change of single vowels 43. 44. 45. 46. 90, insert. of semivowels 48, contr. of vowels 50. 52. 54, changes of single cons. 35. 58. 59. 60. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 91. 92. 93, changes of conj. cons. 76. 78. 82. 83. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 94. 95, suff. 96, pleon. 100. 108, deriv. secondary 112. 113. 114. 116. 117. 119. 120. 121. 123. 125. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 133. 134. 135, deriv. primary 136. 138. 141. 147. 152. 154. 155. 156. 158, roots 160, gender 184. 248, number 186—189, act. case 217—220, case aff. 221—223. 394, adj. declension 249, adj. comparison 250, card. 253—255. 262, ordinals 263, multiplic. 265, collect. 266, reduplicat. 267, fraction. 269, proport. 271, subtract. 271, distribut. 272, definit. 272, indefinit. 272, first pers. pron. 274. 278, second pers. 276. 280, correl. 285—289, reflex. 302, honor. 303, possess. 304, quantit. 306, qualit. 307, indef. 309. 310, pron. adv. 311—313, verbs trans. 317, caus. 318, double caus. 321, comp. pass. 322, pot. pass. 324, auxil. 361—367, comp. 387—389, infin. 326, adj. part. 326, adv. part. 328, conj. part. 329, nouns of agency 330, pres. conj. and imp. 332, precat. 339, pres. ind. 341—345, 1st pret. ind. 345—350, 2nd pret. ind. 351, pret. conj. 353, fut. ind. 356—359, periphrastic tenses 360, particles 393. 394, postpos. 394, conjunct. 395. 396. 397, interject. 398.
- Affirmation* see particles.
- Affix* 222. 394, of case = old nouns 202, indicating seven cases 203, of nom. plur. 186, act. 218. 219. 220.

224, instr. 227—230, dat. 194. 219.
224—227, abl. 225. 226. 227—230,
of gen. 4. 51. 129. 130. 191. 220—
221. 228. 230—240. 299. 394. 304
—305, loc. 241—242, pleon. verbal
338. 345.

Agent see active case.

Alphabet 1. 2.

Anomalous see irreg., gender 183,
asp. 309, anunásika 335. 351, short
forms 199. 200. 201, long vowel
257, ह् 335, num. forms 261. 263.
264. 270, metathesis 391—392, suff.
126. 136. 351.

Antepenultimate vowel shortened 4.
32. 50. 51. 318.

Anunásika 6. 27—31. 46—47, omit-
ted 33. 201. 224. 279. 337. 342.
352, sign of neut. 185. 202, sign
of obl. plur. 187, anomal. 335. 351.

Anusvára 11. 27—31. 36, inorg. 212.
336, euphon. 336.

Apabhramṣa Saur. forms in E. H. 38,
Nágara 276.

Apostrophe 3.

Arabic influence on Gd. 10, sounds
in E. H. 25. 26, words in Gd. see
foreign.

Archaic obl. 29. 186.

Arddhachandra 6. 27.

Aryan phon. system. 9.

Aspiration of unasp. 72. 255. 309,
transferred 73. 92. 224. 364. 389.

Assimilation of foreign sounds in
E. H. 25. 26, visarga 26, obl. and
dir. forms 187. 203, र् 86, य 89,
pers. suff. 336.

Auxiliary verbs see verbs.

B.

Baiswári forms 137.

Bate 398. 399.

Beames 220. 227. 228. 229. 236. 238.
239. 257. 363.

Behári Lál 219.

Bengáli alphabet 2. 3, respectf. term.
330, term. अम् of 1st pers. 351,
exception. comp. verbs 388, pleon.
verb affix क 338.

Bhagavatí 389.

Byeforms of poss. pron. 304, pronom.
adv. 313.

C.

Caligraphic writing 2.

Cardinal numb. see num., declens.
of, 262.

Case 216—242. 220, seven 216, of
agent see act., aff. 220. 222, see
also aff., in Skr. 202.

Causal conj. see conj., roots 156. 164.
170. 171. 178. 317, verb 316. 317—
322. 383—385. 387, rad. suff. 154.
157. 317. 319.

Cause, pronom. adv. of, 311. 312.

Cerebralisation of dentals 9. 239.

Cerebrals 8—10.

Chance, verbs express. of, 386.

Chand 139. 195. 196. 206. 208. 210.
219. 227. 231. 232. 233. 234. 237.
238. 276. 278. 294. 296. 298. 299.

Change of anusvára to nasal 88, mute
cons. to nasal 85. 87, cons. to ह्
89, of अ to इ 42—43. 228, ऋ to
इ 45, उ to न् in E. H. 10. 12. 62.
261, ल् and न् 34. 92. 224, ल् to
र 12. 16. 34. 63, ढ to ह्, ल्ह, ढ
13. 64. 65, of उ to र, ल्, उ 13. 34.
60. 61. 62. 111. 120. 160. 294, य्
to न्, and न् to य् 17—24, ह् to घ्
28, क् to च् 238. 239, द् to ल् 62.
140, झ् to न् 226, द् to न् 239. 294,
स् to ह् 255. 260. 309. 364, च् to
त् 258, ख् to छ् 296, छ् to स् 8. 132.
160 or to ञ् 295. 347. 365, fin.
sounds 36—42, med. single vowels
42—47, vowels in contact 47—56,
init. vowels 90—91, single cons.
57—74. 91—93, conj. cons. 75—89.
93—95. 337, gender 42. 181. 182.
183—185, voice 138. 145. 149. 150.
153. 164. 168—170. 175. 217, class
161. 164—168. 364, number 208.
211. 274.

Circumflex see anunásika.

Class see change of class, suff. 161,
see also incorporation.

Classification of cons. 7.

Collective numb. see numerals.

Combination of vowels see contraction.

Comparison of adj. 250.

Comparative degree 250.
Completion, verbs express. of, 386.
Completive verbs 386.
Compound cons. see cons., roots 173
 —177. 177. 179. 329, verbs 147. 329.
 362. 382. 385—389, pass. see pass.,
 plur. 185. 186. 190. 300—302. 303,
 tenses see tenses.
Compounds resembling suff. 110. 127
 —136. 132. 158.
Composite form of per. term. 353.
Concessive conjunction see conj.
Conditional fut. 359, fut. exact 359,
 durat. pres. 359, pres. 360, preter.
 359, conj. see conj.
Confusion of gender see gender.
Conjugation of trans. 316. 371—375,
 intrans. 316, auxil. verb 367—371,
 regul. act. verb 371—375. 375—
 378, comp. pass. verb 380—382,
 causal verbs 383—385.
Conjugational suff. see suffixes.
Conjunct cons. see cons., १३ 23. 24.
 72. 78. 89. 94. 95.
Conjunction 252. 389. 395—398, co-
 pul. 395, advers. 395, disjunct. 396,
 condit. or concess. 396, causal or
 final 397, paraphrased 397.
Conjunctive part. see part., mood 316.
 331, past tense see past, pres. see
 pres.
Connecting vowel ॠ 176. 252. 261,
 ॡ 139. 148. 157, ॢ 176.
Consonants 6—26, single 34—35. 57
 —74, conj. 35—36. 75—89. 85,
 transposed 73, interchanged 74,
 interpolated 74.
Construction passive 217, pass.-act.
 218.
Constructions or prayogas see prayoga.
Continuative verbs 386.
Contracted syllables 378. 380. 383.
 393, see also contraction and vocali-
 sation, forms see form, num. forms
 271, term. of verbs 339.
Contraction of hiatus vowels 24. 26.
 29. 33. 34. 35. 40. 47. 48. 50. 54.
 67. 68. 75. 122. 132. 157. 158. 198.
 232. 252.
Copulative conj. see conjunction.
Correlative pron. 273. 274. 284—302.
Corruption of foreign words see for-
eign.
Cowell 257. 303. 335—336.

D.

Dative 216. 226, disappear. in Pr. 202,
 = old gen. 193. 195. 197. 202. 206.
 210. 279, = old gen. = acc. 196.
 198, postpos. 224. 225, singul. 203.
 208, aff. see aff.
Declension of adj. 249—250, correl.
 pron. 299, honor. pron. 303, indef.
 pron. 309, pers. pron. 282—283,
 pleon. pron. 282. 300. 302, poss.
 pron. 304, qual. pron. 307, quant.
 pron. 306, reflex. pron. 302, sub-
 stant. 242—246.
Defective num. 267, verbs 361. 364.
 367—368. 370. 371.
Definite pres. ind. 359, preter. of
 perf. ind. 359.
Definitive numb. see numerals.
Degree of adj. 250, verbs 317—322.
Demonstrative general 284. 286—287,
 near 284. 285—286. 291. 304, pron.
 282. 284, remote or far 273. 284.
 286. 291. 304.
Denominative formation 355, par-
 ticiples 118, root 81. 82. 164. 172—
 173. 177. 179. 347, rad. suff. 154.
 157. 158.
Dentalisation of cerebrals 14.
Derivation of adv. 391—392, abl.
 and instr. aff. 227—230, act. dat.
 aff. 220, dat. aff. 224—227, gen.
 aff. 230—240, loc. aff. 241—242,
 conj. 395. 396. 397, interject. 398,
 nouns of agency 330, num. 72. 73.
 74. 82. 86. 87. 90, plur. signs 189
 —192, particles 393. 394, postpos.
 394, pronom. adv. 313—316, cor-
 rel. pron. 289—299, honor. pron.
 303, indef. pron. 309—310, qual.
 pron. 308, quant. pron. 306, first
 pers. pron. 274—276. 278—280,
 2nd pers. pron. 276—278. 280—
 281, possess. pron. 304—305, re-
 flex. pron. 302, a few peculiar pro-
 nom. forms 281—282, direct term.
 212—216, fem. term. 125—126.
 249, obl. term. 192—202, aux.
 verbs 361—367, caus. verbs 319—
 321, double caus. 321—322, comp.
 verbs 387—389, conj. part. 329,
 pass. 323—324, prec. 339—341,
 fut. ind. 356—359, pres. conj. and
 imperf. 334—339, pres. ind. 341—
 345, pret. conj. 353—355, first
 pret. ind. 345—350, second pret.

- ind. 351—354, trans. verbs 317, suff. see suff.
Derivative roots 171—172, suff. 95. 96. 99, primary 95. 118. 133. 136. 136—158, secondary 95. 111—136. 179.
Desiderative verbs 386.
Desire expressed by suff. see suff.
Devanāgarī 1. 2. 15. 24.
Dhātupāṭha 172.
Dialogues 400.
Diminutive forms 104. 107. 123. 182, suff. 100. 101. 107. 134.
Direct form, see form, of demonstr. pron. 284, first pers. pron. 274, = obl. 219.
Direction, pronom. adv. of, 311.
Disaspiration 72. 81. 82. 85. 89. 160.
Disjunctive conj. see conjunction.
Dissolution of conj. cons. 57. 76. 77—79. 155. 262.
Distribution of Pr. gen. suff. 204—209.
Distributive numbers see numerals.
Disused past tense act. 217, roots 154. 156. 157. 177, words 106. 107. 124. 126. 128.
Double causal 320. 321—322. 384. 385.
Doubling of cons. 79. 85. 101. 158. 255, retained 80. 158, vowels 85.
Dravidian lang. and sounds 8—10.
Dubitative pres. 359, preter. 360.
Durative fut. ind. 359, pres. condit. 359, pres. ind. 359, preter. ind. 359.

E.

- Elision* of causal suff. एत् 145, of a cons. 6. 59. 69—72. 76. 79. 79—80. 85. 86. 93. 94. 95. 308, double cons. 57. 58. 76. 85—87. 113. 254. 258. 362, final anusvāra 36, final anunāsika 33. 42. 279. 337. 342. 352, final visarga 36, final इ 252. 254, gen. suff. 281, initial vowels 90. 91. 162. 395, nasal 6. 28. 30. 57. 58, neutral vowel 5, person. verb. suff. 347. 351. 378, semicons. 19, semivowels 57. 58. 117. 132. 156. 158. 159, syllables 254. 258. 259, of ए 34. 47. 70—71. 122. 193. 198. 224. 255. 260. 270. 295. 299, of ए before इ or ई 35. 69. 318,

of ए 55. 90. 117. 145. 270, of इ 69. 128. 135. 232. 308, of ए 70, of ए 71. 117, of ए 72.

Elliptic phrases 213.

Emphatic form of conj. part. 329. 330, form of pron. 284. 301. 309. 310. 311, particles or aff. 299. 309. 314. 393. 397.

Enclitic conj. 395, particles 393, pron. 338. 345.

Euphonic anusvāra 346, ए 335. 356, ए 270, semicons. 16. 18. 24. 32. 47—48. 269. 335. 371.

Exception, see anomalous, irregular, Bengali, etc.

Expansion of hiatus-vowels 47. 48.

F.

Feminine 181. 248. 263. 265, forming abstr. nouns 113. 116. 117. 123, express. diminutiveness 123, instrum. 151, in ए 245. 267. 268, in एत् 245, in इ 245—246, in ई 246, in उ 246.

Final a sounded 32, conj. ए and ए pronounced 5, conj. see conj.

First pers. pron. 273. 274. 278. 281. 303, pers. of verbs 331, pret. see preterite.

Foreign sounds 25, words 25. 80. 125. 174. 389. 390. 391. 394. 395. 396.

Form short 54. 179. 181. 182. 194. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247, long 98. 99. 112. 179. 180. 182. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 248. 249. 273. 274. 284, strong 97. 103. 112. 126. 139. 180. 182. 194. 247. 248. 249. 263. 267. 282. 285. 330. 351. 355. 360, weak 97. 98. 99. 103. 112. 126. 139. 157. 180. 247. 263. 282. 285. 353. 354. 360, redundant 53, 99. 112. 179. 180. 182. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248, meaning of, 181, direct 185. 186. 187. 203. 219. 274. 284, obl. 185. 187. 192. 203. 212. 214. 218. 263. 267. 269. 274. 284. 313. 394, gen. obl. 203. 220, spec. obl. 203. 220, contr. 247. 271, uncontr. 247, root 159, subst. 279—281, adj. 247—248, card. num.

251—253, pron. 273. 282. 284. 299.
300—302. 306. 307, verbs 316—330,
pleon. of verbs 362, neg. of verbs
363, inchoat. of verbs 363. 366,
neut. pron. 284.

Fractional num. see numerals.

Frequentative verbs 386.

Future indic. 33. 34. 146. 331—333.
343. 355—359. 359, part. see part.,
condit. see cond., exact ind. 360,
exact condit. 359, durative 359.

Futurity, verbs expr. immed. 387.

G.

Gender expr. smallness or largeness
107. 108, identity of 248, pron.
273. 284. 302. 309, nouns 181—185.
248—249, verbs 331. 341. 350. 353.
355. 360. 362. 381, uncertainty of
181, confus. of 355. 368. 372. 373.

Genitive 216, sing. = nom. sg. or
plur. 215. 277, = instr. 218, old
see old or dat. or acc., dropped
281, = obl. form 202. 218, origin
of gen. suff. 209—212, aff. see aff.

Gerund 147. 388.

Granth see old Panjābī.

Guṇa 317.

Gupta 2.

Gurmukhī 2. 3. 13. 15. 20.

H.

Habitual pret. 359, past see Marā-
thī or Panjābī.

Hardening of semivow. 58. 59. 72. 92.

Heterogeneous conj. 75. 76.

Hiatus 16. 33. 47. 52. 54. 55.

High Hindī 219.

Hindī, high see high, old see old,
vulgar see vulgar, low see low,
pleon. verb. aff. स or सि 346.

Historical present see Marāthī.

Homogeneous conj. 75. 76.

Honorific pron. 273. 303.

I.

Identity of nom. and acc. proper
220, genders 248, pres. conj. and
imperf. 332, pres. conj., imper.
and indic. 334, pres. ind. and fut.

ind. 343. 357, pret. conj. and pres.
ind. in Marāthī see Marāthī, dat.
and act. suff. 220.

Immediate futurity, verbs express. of
387.

Imperative 53. 316. 331. 333. 337—
339. 339—341.

Imperfect ind. 359.

Impersonal verb 382.

Importation of Arab. and Pers. sounds
into Gd. 10. 25.

Inchoative verb. forms 363. 366, verbs
387, suff. च् or स्क 363.

Incorporation of class snff. 161. 162—
164. 165. 168, pass. suff. 164.

Increment इत्त 340—341, ख 362—363.

Indeclinables 389—398.

Indefinite pres. ind. 354, pron. 284.
289. 299. 309—310.

Indefinitive numb. see numerals.

Indicative 316. 331. 345, fut. see fut.,
pres. see pres., perf. see perf., im-
per. see imper., pret. see pret., old
pres. in Skr. see old, fut. in Skr.
and Pr. 339.

Infinitive 145. 150. 153. 159. 185.
316. 326, obl. 326. 385. 388.

Inflexion of nouns 179—316, verbs
316—389.

Initial letters 3, vowels 90. 97, ण
in E. H. 12.

Inorganic anunāsika 256, anusvara
212, ज् 11.

Insertion of vowels 57, euph. य and
व 33. 54. 55. 97. 159. 371, of cons.
74, of व 50. 55. 138, of य 54. 137
—138, of ह 48. 105. 133. 269, see
also euphonic.

Instrumental 216, = gen. 218, sing.
199. 208, plur. 199, suff. see suff.

Intensive verbs 382. 385. 386.

Interchange of cons. 74, gend. 355.

Interjection 398, in vocat. 217.

Interpolation of vowels 76. 77—79.
93—94. 252, of cons. 74. 257, see
also insertion.

Interrogative pron. 284. 288. 299.
394, particles 394.

Intransitive verbs 316. 317. 333. 348.
350. 360. 380. 382.

Irregular verbs 371. 378—380. 381
—382. 383. 385, pass. 322. 324,

caus. 317. 318—319. 320, past part. 138. 326. 345. 381.

K.

Kabir 195. 196. 219. 231. 233.

Kaithī 1. 10. 15. 16. 20. 24.

Kashmīrī 240. 256.

Kellogg 332.

Khari bhāshā 16. 75.

Kinds of verbs 316—317.

Konkanī 239. 240. 317.

Kothivāl see *Mahājani*.

Kūtila 2.

L.

Lassen on first pers. pron. 275, conj. part. 330, fut. of \bar{a} -type in Pr. 357, pers. suff. 336.

Lengthening of short vowels 46. 83. 101. 171. 194. 252. 261, rad. vowel 316. 317.

Likeness express. by suff. see suff.

Literary form of Gd. lang. 219.

Locative 216. 241. 242, postpos. see postpos., form of past part. 360, sing. 199. 208. 210, plur. 199.

Long vowel 3, form see form.

Low Hindī 219, see also vulgar and theṭh 368.

M.

Magadh forms 137.

Mahājani 2.

Maithilī forms 137.

Manner, pron. adv. of, 311. 312. 389. 391.

Marāṭhī roots not in E. H. 160, type of obl. term. 192, dat. = old gen. 193, habitual past or historical pres. 332. 344. 357—366, respectf. term. 339, identity of term. of pres. conj. and pres. ind. 354.

Mārkaṇḍeya on decl. 204. 205. 215. 216. 236, pleon. forms 101, pron. forms 275. 277. 279. 293. 295. 298. 305, conj. part. 329, on euphonic semicons. 17.

Masculine 181. 248. 265, express. „place“ 151.

Masculines in \bar{a} 242—243, in $\bar{ā}$ 243, \bar{e} 243—244, \bar{i} 244, \bar{u} 244, \bar{u} 244—245.

Meaning of comp. verbs 386—389, nom. forms 181, the two pret. ind. 345, suff. 95. 100. 145.

Medial single cons. 57—60, conj. cons. 75—77.

Metathesis see transposition.

Mewārī 240.

Mixed conjuncts 75.

Monosyllabic roots, irr. caus. of 318.

Moods of verbs 316. 326—330, indic. 316. 331, conj. 316. 331, imper. 316. 331.

Mrchchhakatikā 234. 235.

Multiplicative numb. see num.

Multiplication table 251. 252. 264. 265.

Mute conson. 6.

N.

Nāgara Apabhraṃṣa 276. 305, *Bhāshā* 345.

Nāgarī see *Devanāgarī*.

Naipālī pleon. verb. suff. \bar{a} 338.

Nasal cons. 6, \bar{a} in E. H. 10, \bar{a} and $\bar{ā}$ in vulg. E. H. 10, in Pr. 11—12, indicated by anusvāra 11.

Nasalization 6, of vowels 46—47. 81. 84. 393, of \bar{a} 47.

Negative verb. form 363. 364. 370—371, part. 363. 393—394.

Neuter 183—185.

Neutral sounds 18, vowel 3. 4. 5.

Nominal term. see term., deriv. 177, adv. see adv.

Nominative 216. 217. 220, sing. 36. 38. 208. 214, plur. 185. 186. 199. 212—216. 272, = dir. form. 185. 203, = gen. 215. 277, = voc. 216. 217, = acc. proper 220.

Noninitial vowel 3.

Nouns rad. 172, of act and agency 145. 150. 330.

Number of nouns 185—216, verbs 331. 341. 345. 350. 353. 355. 360. 381.

Numerals 250—273, deriv. of see deriv. and suffs., ord. 126—128. 250. 263—264. 267. 269, indef. 135. 250. 272—273, card. 250. 251—262. 263. 269. 270, collect. 250. 262. 265.

265—267, aggreg. see collect., contract. forms 271, distribut. 250. 271—272, defin. 272, indef. 135. 250. 272—273, defective 267, fraction. 250. 268—270, multiplic. 250. 264—265, proport. 250. 270—271, subtract. 250. 271, adv. see adv., adverb. phrases 372, reduplicatives 250. 267—268.

O.

Oblique form see form, form in τ 51. 70. 136. 137. 145. 360, = old gen. 202. 218, = dir. 219, = pron. adv. 313, of adj. 249, sing. 185. 186. 187. 192. 195, plur. 185. 187. 195. 198. 242, archaic 186, term. 187—189. 192—202, inf. see inf.
Old gen. term. 191. 193, pres. tense 334. 341. 344. 351. 353. 356. 357. 362, fut. 339. 356, Hindí 139. 195. 196. 198. 206. 207. 210. 214. 219. 220. 224. 230. 231. 237. 238. 241. 335. 346, Hindí pers. suff. 335—339. 346, Pr. forms 354, Bengálí 196, Gujarátí 219. 230. 240, Maráthí 219. 229. 238. 241. 332—333, Panjábí 196. 206. 207. 210. 214. 219. 230. 233. 237. 239. 240. 356.
Omission see change and elision.
Ordinal numb. see numerals.
Organic π and π 16.
Origin of cerebrals 8—10, of obl. form 187. 192. 202—203, obl. or gen. suff. 209—212, pleon. suff. 103. 110—111, see also derivation.
Original Aryan cerebrals 9, single cons. 57. 78. 81, conj. cons. 75—77, adv. see adv.
Oriya alphabet 2. 20. 21.

P.

Paisáchi 12.
Palatal cons. 7.
Palatalisation of κ 238. 239, τ 239.
Pálí 280, suff. of conj. part. 239.
Panjábí anom. pronom. forms 279—280. 305, anom. 1st pers. suff. 336, habit. past 366, old Panj. see old.
Paradigms of decl. 220. 242—246. 283. 300—302.

Paraphrased conjunction 397.
Participle pres. 34. 83. 136. 226. 228. 326. 330. 344. 353. 358. 359, past 138. 217. 226. 326. 345. 350. 357. 359. 360. 378. 381, past used as denom. root 172. 173. 347, future 145. 146. 150. 330. 333. 355, adverb. 228. 328. 360. 385. 388, conj. 4. 225. 229. 232. 328—330. 378. 385. 387, adj. 360. 385, see also past and pres. part.
Participles 316. 326—330.
Participial tenses see tenses.
Particle of affirm. and negation 392—393, interrog. 394, emph. see emphatic.
Páschá dialect 15. 16.
Pashtu roots 178, past part. 139, causals 320, postpos. 394, pers. verb. suff. 335—337, pleon. suff. in 110.
Passive root see root, construct. see constr., compound 322—323. 381—382. 385, voice 138. 316. 322—326, potential 324—325. 382—383. 385, term. used actively 138. 145. 340, see also change of voice.
Past conjunctive 331, see also pret.
Perfect indicative 359.
Periphrastic tenses see tenses.
Permissive verbs 387.
Permutation of roots 161.
Persian influence on Gd. 10, words see foreign, pers. verb. suff. 335—337.
Person of verbs 331. 341. 345. 350. 353. 355. 360. 381.
Personal pron. see pron.
Phonetic spelling 5. 17, disguises of roots 161, system in Skr. 3. 6. 12. 24. 26. 27, in Hindí 6, in Aryan 9, permutation see permutation.
Phrase adverb. 390. 391, phrases in E. H. 398—399.
Pischel 224. 235.
Place, pron. adv. of 310. 311. 389. 390.
Pleonastic declens. of pron. 282. 300, verb. aff. 338. 346, verbal form 362, rad. suff. 161. 161—162. 170—171. 173, suffs. 61. 95. 96—111. 100. 119. 122. 127. 134—179. 226. 247. 268. 289. 297. 306. 307. 314. 391. 392, π (or κ) added 110. 112. 115. 116. 117. 119. 120. 122. 125. 127. 133. 137. 140. 141. 154. 155. 156.

Pluperfect 350. 359.

Plural 185. 212—216. 331, comp. 185. 303, simple 185. 186, periphrastic 186, oblique see obl., sign see sign, used as sing. 274, of verbs 331, of long adj. 249, old term of 189.

Possessional adj. see suff.

Possessive pron. see pron.

Postposition 222. 389. 394, of dat. 224. 225, of abl. 225, of loc. 241, साठी 193. 225.

Postpositional loc. 51. 52.

Potential verbs 386, pass. see pass.

Prākṛit comp. verbs 389, methods of forming pret. conj. 354, old see old.

Prayogas 326—327. 333. 348.

Precative 339—341.

Prefixing of ह 93, of अ or इ 95, of एक 272.

Prepositions 394.

Present part. see part, dur. 359, dur. cond. 359, cond. 360, dubit. 359, conj. 51. 52. 159. 331—339. 343. 345. 357. 359, imperat. 331—339. 339—341, ind. 341—345. 353. 357. 359, ind. in Skr. 334.

Preterite, first 331. 345—350. 351. 378, second 331. 350—353. 361, conj. 34. 353—355. 359, ind. 138. 331. 333. 345. 350. 351. 359, cond. 359, dubit. 360.

Primary roots see roots, derivat. suff. see derivative.

Pronominal long forms 273, strong forms 273, short forms 4, adj. 273. 303—310, adv. 273. 310—316.

Pronouns 232. 273—315, emphatic 310. 311. 312, pers. 273—284. 303^{bis}, corr. 273. 284—302. 305—308, reflex. 273. 302. 303^{bis}, honor. 273. 303, poss. 273. 281—282. 302. 303—305, demonstr. 284. 285—287. 291. 304, rel. 284. 287—288. 310, inter. 284. 288. 299, indef. 284. 289. 299. 309—310, of quantity 289. 291. 293. 294. 297. 305—307. 313, of quality 294. 295. 307—308. 313, enclitic 338. 345.

Pronunciation of neut. vowel 4, short vowel 4. 5, palatals 7. 8, cerebrals 8—10, init. अ and अ 16, अ 16, र, ल etc. 6, ह and ल्ह 12, ञ 13, Má-gadhí 17, semicons. and semivowels

17. 18, ए and ए 21, अ and अ 24. 25. 270, anunásika and anusvára 27. 31, Beng. verb. term. 349, च 35, स 36, ज 35, ह 35.

Proportional numb. see num.

Q.

Quality prop. of 294. 295. 307—308. 318.

Quantity pron. of 289. 291. 293. 294. 305—307. 313.

Quiescent अ 4. 31. 36. 37. 38. 97. 128. 265, इ and उ 38. 128. 252. 254. 338.

R.

Radical vowel 316, tenses 331. 331—345.

Reduction of asp. 57. 58. 59. 65—67. 79. 270, vowels 32. 33. 38. 261.

Redundant form see form.

Reduplication of roots 367, num. 271. 272, emph. part. 397, suff. 97. 101. 102. 104.

Reduplicative numb. see num.

Reflexive pron. 273. 302. 303^{bis}.

Reflexiveness verbs express. of 386.

Regular verb conjugated see conjug.

Relation express. by suff. see suff.

Relative pron. 284. 287—288. 310.

Remote demonstr. pron. 273.

Repetition adverb. 390. 391.

Respect term. of 393.

Respectful termin. 339.

Resultant single cons. 57—58, conj. cons. 75—77.

Retention of double cons. 80, of र in conj. 74. 76—77. 255.

Romance lang. 239.

Roots 159—179. 331. 387, in long vowels 46. 387, permut. of see permut., not in E. H. 166, primary 161. 161—171. 177, secondary 161. 171—177. 177, unchanged 161, derivative see deriv., denom. see denom., compound see compound, simple 168. 171. 174. 319. 319, pass. 168. 171, caus. see caus., paraphrased 174, tatsama 179.

S.

Sandhi 36. 47. 48.
Second pers. of verbs 331, preter.
 see pret., pers. pron. 273. 276. 280.
 281. 303^{bls}.
Secondary deriv. suff. see derivat.
Semicerebrals 9. 10. 25.
Semiconsonant 17. 24.
Semidentals 7.
Semitatsama 67. 75. 77. 112. 180. 255.
 309.
Semivowels 6.
Setubandha 217. 218.
Short vowel 3. 4. 5. 82. 83, form see
 form.
Shortening of antepenult. vowel 32.
 83. 97, long vowels 46. 90. 101.
 102. 145. 156. 171. 261. 317. 318.
 335. 396, final *ए* 53, radic. vowel
 316. 317.
Sibilants 6.
Signs of plur. 185. 189—192. 232,
 nasalization 6, vowels 3.
Simple roots see roots, plural 185,
 causal 383—384. 385, verb 316. 317.
Simplification of conj. cons. 57. 76.
 79—85. 115.
Sindhi old 219, agreement with E. H.
 15. 16, roots not in E. H. 160, pre-
 serves short vowel 85, type of obl.
 term. 192, obl. in poetry 203, anom.
 pron. forms 279—280, anom. indef.
 pron. 309, pres. part. in *अद्* or *इद्*
 358, anom. first pers. suff. 336,
 pleon. suff. in S. 110.
Single cons. see cons., vowels see
 vowels.
Singular 185. 187. 192. 331.
Special Hindī vowels 4.
Specimens of E. H. 398—407.
Spelling see phonetic 5, in Gujarātī
 201, of *ओन्* as *वन्* 252.
Softening of cons. 57. 58. 59. 60—65.
 83. 392.
Strong forms see forms, conj. 75,
 auxil. verb 369—370.
Substantive 179—246. 268, forms 179
 —181, see also forms, gender 181
 —185, numb. 185—216.
Substitution see change.
Subtractive numb. see num.
Suddenness verbs express. of 386.
Suffix of nomin. 215, accus. 207. 391,
 instrument. 205. 206. 212. 230, dat.

207, abl. 205. 206. 207. 211. 230.
 391, gen. sing. 192. 193. 195. 203.
 204—206. 207—208. 209. 211, gen.
 plur. 194. 198. 203. 205—206. 208
 —209. 211. 212, loc. 51. 52. 70. 205.
 206. 207. 391, obl. plur. 185. 272,
 pres. ind. 341. 344, *ओ* of 1st sing.
 pres. 52. 331. 335—336. 337, *इ*
 of 1st pl. pres. 70. 331. 335—336.
 338, *उ* of 2^d sing. pres. 331. 335.
 337—338, *ओ* of 2^d pl. pres. 70. 331.
 336. 338—339, *अद्* or *अ* of 2^d plur.
 331—332. 336. 339, *ऐ* of 3^d sing.
 pres. 51. 331. 335, *ऐ* of 3^d pl. pres.
 51. 70. 227. 337, *अंति* of 3^d pl. pres.
 83, *अंतु* or *उत्* or *उन्* or *ओत्* or *उत्*
 339, pres. imper. 331. 333, *उ* of
 imper. 53. 331, pres. conj. 331. 333,
 prec. 339—341, *इत्त* 340—341, first
 pret. ind. 345. 349, *अत्* of past
 tense 34. 62—63. 137—144. 350.
 360, *इ* 3^d sing. fut. ind. 33. 70,
अत् of part. pres. 83. 136—137.
 353. 359. or *अद्* or *इद्* 358, past
 part. 137—144. 345. 350. 359. 378,
 fut. part. 145—150. 355. 378, conj.
 part. 4. 329, infin. 145—154. 159,
ऐ obl. infin. 87, caus. verbs 317.
 319, inchoat. 363, verbal omitted
 see elision.
Suffixes redupl. see reduplication,
 contr. 100, their meaning see mean-
 ing, vulg. see vulg., diminut. see
 diminutive, expressing smallness
 100. 107, contempt 100, affection
 100, likeness 107. 111. 119. 122.
 134, possession 115. 117. 118. 120.
 121. 122. 135, relation 120. 122.
 129. 132. 135, desire 131, workers
 of something 129—130, wages or
 price 146, instrument 151, place
 151, resembling compounds see
 comp., added to verb. roots 114,
 forming abstr. nouns 112. 113. 114.
 116. 117. 123. 131. 132, feminines
 123, numerals 128, ord. numbers
 126. 267, nouns of act 145. 146.
 150. 151. 154. 155. 157, nouns of

agency 145. 147. 150. 151. 156. 158, used with foreign words 125, anomal. 126. 136, improper 127—136, confused 133. 145. 153, conjugational 4. 34. 331. 333. 339. 341. 344. 345. 349. 350. 353. 355. 358, pleon. rad. 161, derivat. see deriv., pleon. see pleon., pleon. verbal see aff.
Superlative degree 250.
Supine 333.
Suppression of intermed. vowel 75, see also elision.
Symbol see sign.

T.

Tadbhava 57. 59. 75.
Tassy de 277.
Tatsama 5. 10. 16. 17. 24. 26. 67. 112. 116. 179. 183. 225. 267.
Tenses 331—367, past act. 217, pres. 331. 331—339, past 331, fut. 331, simple 331, comp. 342—343, part. 248. 331. 345—359, periphrastic 331. 350. 359—367. 373—375. 380. 384.
Termination dir. 212—216, nom. 54, verb. 51. 52, of roots 159, obl. and dir. forms 187—189, old plur. 189, obl. plur. 198. 212, nom. plur. 199, trans. verbs 317, ऋत् of 1st pers. in Bengálí 351.
Theth 10. 11. 12. 16. 75. 197.
Third pers. of verbs 331, pers. pron. 273. 304.
Time pronom. adv. of 311. 312. 389. 390.
Transfer of aspiration see aspirat., of ङ or ञ into the preceding syllable 34. 100. 236. 335. 339. 351. 352.
Transitive verbs 316. 317. 333. 348. 350. 360. 380. 384.
Transliteration of neutral vowel 3, anunásika 6, cerebrals 9.
Transposition of vowels 391—392, of cons. 73. 257. 270. 294. 305. 315.
Trumpp 227.
Tulsi Das 196. 198. 208. 230. 231. 232. 234. 237.
Types two of 1st pers. pron. 274, two of obl. forms 192, six of correl.

pron. 289, four of qualit. pron. 307. 308, six of pron. adv. 313, six of fut. indic. 356.
Typical regular act. verbs 375—378, irreg. verbs 378—380.

U.

Uncontracted form see form.
Uniformity of roots 154—167. 172. 174, conjugational base 162—164, declensional base 103, caus. 202. 203. 218.
Urdu 219.

V.

Vedic Sanskr. 13. 15. 175. 176. 329.
Verbal nouns 145. 147. 148, adv. see adv., form pleon. 362, form neg. 363, suff. pleon. 338.
Verbs 316—389, conjug. of see conjug., transit. see trans., intrans. see intrans., causal see causal, defect. see defect., irreg. see irreg., auxiliary 333. 342. 343. 347. 354. 359. 360. 361—367. 367—371. 385, express. various meanings 386.
Vidyapati 196. 232. 233.
Violence verbs express. 386.
Virāma 3.
Visarga 26. 36.
Vocables in E. H. 398—399.
Vocalisation of ँ and ऌ 16. 17. 35. 57. 67—68. 117. 162. 318, nasals 57.
Vocative = obl. sing. or nom. plur. 215—216, of long adj. 249.
Voices of verbs, 316. 322—326.
Vowel 3, ि, ी etc. 6, single vowels 42—47, connecting vow. see connecting, radical vow. 316.
Vrddhi 317.
Vulgar forms of H. 10. 179. 237. 247, forms of pers. pron. 273, suff. 100. 101.

W.

Weak conjuncts 75, forms see forms, past part. form 345. 348, auxil. verb 368—369.

ERRATA.

- p. II. l. 20. extends *for* extents.
p. III. l. 22. Kachchh *for* Kachh.
p. III. l. 23. Kachchhi *for* Kachhi.
p. IV. l. 29. however *for* howerer.
p. VI. l. 2. eighthly *for* eightly.
p. VIII. l. 14. XXXVII *for* XXXV.
p. IX. l. 29. and the short *for* and of the short.
p. XVII. l. 32. válakko *for* valakko.
p. XXIV. l. 17. what *for* wbat.
p. XXV. l. 33. Práchyá *for* Práchá.
p. XXV. l. 34. Práchyá *for* Gaudí.
p. XXXVII. l. 11. comes *for* come.
p. XXXVII. l. 20. Prakás *for* Prakas.
p. 17. l. 28. difficulty *for* difficully.
p. 56. l. 27. give thou *for* take thou.
p. 57. l. 5. सगर *for* सगल्.
p. 61. l. 33. मोटल् *for* मोटल्.
p. 64. l. 31. बर्हई or बरहई *for* बर्हई or बरहई..
p. 65. l. 29. § 77 *for* § 74.
p. 70. l. 7. add: E. H. बइल् or बैल्.
p. 70. l. 10. दीन् *for* दीन्.
p. 104. l. 34. बाउर् *for* बाउर्.
p. 107. l. 6. पाङ्गिल् *for* पङ्गिल्.
p. 110. l. 24. चमोटा *for* चमोटो.
p. 110. l. 26. हिरनोटा *for* हिरणोटा.
p. 112. l. 23. गह्मआई *for* गह्मआई.
p. 123. l. 34. चोलो *for* चोली.
p. 124. l. 10. बेटा son *for* बेटा son.
p. 141. l. 6. चलिय or चलिब *for* चलिय or चलिब्.
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ADDENDA.

- p. 67. rule 119, 2. W. H. होटा *three and a half* for Pr. अढोट्ट^०, see § 416.
- p. 88. rule 160. ऋत् becomes ऋ in S., P., Mw. अंदो for अंतो suffix of pres. part., see § 301. Also P., S. पंत्त *five* for Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च, see p. 256.
- p. 90. rule 172. W. H. होटा for *अहोटा *three and a half*, see § 416.
- p. 90. add rule 172^a. इ is elided; rarely; E. H. चाहै or चाहै *he desires*, Pr. इच्छामइ, Skr. *इच्छायति, see p. 389, footnote.
- p. 113. rule 227. The forms त्त and तन are preserved in the O. H. of Chand; e. g. वृडत्त *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38; प्रीततन *friendship* Pr. R. 28, 56; कुसलतन *prosperity* Pr. R. 28, 38; वृडतन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38.
- p. 117. rule 239. In O. H. the suff. is एत्त; e. g. रगतत्त *bloody* Chand Pr. R. 28, 39.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Trübner's Oriental Series	3
Serials and Periodicals	5
History, Geography, Travels, Ethnography, Archæology, Law, Numismatics...	16
The Religions of the East	24
Comparative Philology (Polyglots)...	29

Grammars, Dictionaries, Texts, and Translations :—

	PAGE		PAGE
Accad— <i>v.</i> Assyrian	32	Hindustani	58
African Languages	33	Icelandic	59
American Languages	34	Japanese	60
Anglo-Saxon	34	Irish— <i>v.</i> Keltic	
Arabic	36	Kamilaroi—see Australian Lang. ...	
Assamese	36	Keltic (Cornish, Gaelic, Welsh, Irish) ...	60
Assyrian	36	Mahratta (Marathi)	61
Australian Languages	38	Malagasy	61
Aztek— <i>v.</i> American Lang. ...		Malay	61
Babylonian— <i>v.</i> Assyrian		Malayalim	62
Bengali	38	Maori	62
Brahoe	38	Oriya— <i>v.</i> Uriya	
Braj Bhākā— <i>v.</i> Hindi		Pali	62
Burmese	39	Pazand	63
Celtic— <i>v.</i> Keltic		Peguan	64
Chaldaic— <i>v.</i> Assyrian		Pehlvi	64
Chinese (for books on and in ...)	39	Pennsylvania Dutch	65
Pidgin-English see under		Persian	65
this heading)		Pidgin-English	66
Choctaw— <i>v.</i> American Lang. ...		Prakrit	66
Coptic— <i>v.</i> Egyptian		Pukhto (Pakkhto, Pashto) ...	66
Corean	43	Punjabi— <i>v.</i> Gurmukhi ...	
Cornish— <i>v.</i> Keltic		Quichua— <i>v.</i> American Languages	
Cree } — <i>v.</i> American Lan-		Russian	67
Creole } guages		Samaritan	67
Cuneiform— <i>v.</i> Assyrian...		Samoan	67
Dutch (Pennsylvania)	65	Sanskrit	67
Egyptian	43	Shan— <i>v.</i> Burmese ...	
English—Early and Modern	45	Sindhi	77
English and Dialects ...		Sinhalese	77
Frisian	55	Syriac	78
Gaelic— <i>v.</i> Keltic		Tamil	78
German (Old)	55	Telugu	78
Gipsy	55	Tibetan	78
Greek (Modern and Classic) ..	56	Turki	79
Gujarâti	56	Turkish	79
Gurmukhi	56	Umbrian	79
Hawaiian... ..	56	Urdu— <i>v.</i> Hindustani	
Hebrew	57	Uriya	79
Hidatsa— <i>v.</i> American Lang. ...		Welsh— <i>v.</i> Keltic	
Hindi	57		

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Arabic.	Estrangelo.	Illyrian.	Russian.
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Bengali.	Gothic.	Mantshu.	Sorbian (or Wendish).
Bohemian (Czechian).	Greek.	Median Cuneiform.	Swedish.
Búgís.	Greek Ligatures.	Modern Greek (Romaic)	Syriac.
Burmese.	Greek (Archaic).	Mongolian.	Tamil.
Canarese (or Carnâtaça).	Gujerati (or Guzzerate).	Numidian.	Telugu.
Chinese.	Hieratic.	Old Slavonic (or Cyrillic).	Tibetan.
Coptic.	Hieroglyphics.	Palmyrenian.	Turkish.
Croato-Glagolitic.	Hebrew.	Persian.	Wallachian.
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